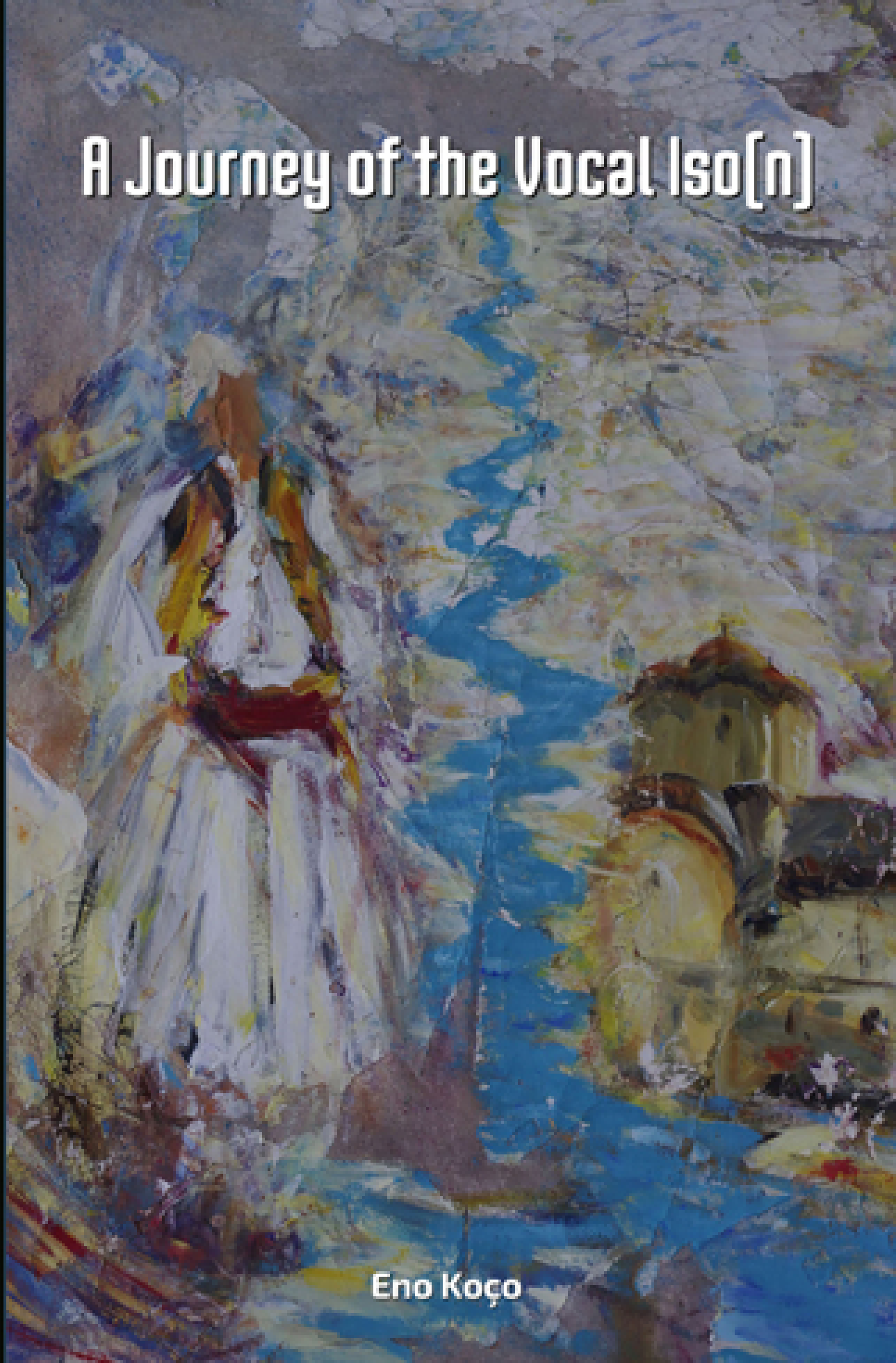
A Journey of the Vocal Iso(n)



Eno Koço

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By

Eno Koço

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This book is dedicated to the memory of my mother,
Albanian soprano Tefta Tashko Koço (1910–1947),
who has been a mentor, an inspiration, and a guardian angel
throughout my whole life and to whom I shall be eternally grateful

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LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES: NOTATION AND AUDIO

Explanation of Musical Examples

As it was explained briefly at the beginning of Chapter Five (IMUS Styles) the songs have their notated and audio/recorded examples, while the liturgical chants are presented only in audio examples. Both audio versions, the multipart songs and liturgical chants, are found in the accompanying CD. The notated and recorded examples with the relevant indications are those, which were discussed in the book and broadly analysed in Chapter Five. The majority of notated examples are musical excerpts based on different Albanian publications and transcribed by Albanian scholars. The notation is given as it is published or in manuscript. Nearly all the audio examples on the accompanying CD appear only as extracts on the recordings. (Abbreviation: Not. Ex.=Notated Example, Tr.=Track). The transcription data drawn from the published sources are shown on the top left and right–hand side of the song notations.

Index of Notated and Recorded Songs in Order of the Examples

Notated Examples

Not. Ex.	*Title in Alb. & Greek*	*Title in English*	*Region & Group*
1	Tregon Gego Valideja	Gego Valideja's narration	Labëri, Dukat, Mixed Group
2	Nëntëmbëdhjetë janari	The Nineteenth of January	Labëri, Kuç, Men's Group
3	Këmb'o këmbë pse …	Why my feet got so weak	Gjirokastër, Men's Group
4	Ku je rritur je bër' kaqe	Where Have You Grown …	Gjirokastër, Men's Group
5	Pses ehorevan edhó	Last Night They Danced …	Pogoni/Poliçan Group
6	Do këndoj po m'u …	I'll Sing, But My Throat…	Himarë, Men's Group
7	Lul' e bukur-o (Katina)	Beautiful Flower	Himarë, Men's Group
8	Pse m'i mban sytë …	Why You Keep Your …	Skrapar, Women's Group
9	Shoqe, do t'u them …	My Girl Friends, I'll Tell …	Korçë, Lubonjë, Wom.'s Gr.
10	Kush të nisi, të bëri…	Who made You to …	Gramsh, Women's Group
11	Më ra shamia në llucë	My Handkerchief Fell …	Përmet, Women's Group
12	O qo an'e lumit	This Side of the River	Myzeqe, Fier, Gr. not known
13	Ra dielli në male	The Sun is Rising …	Çam Men's Group
14	Alismonó ke hjérome	I Forget but Enjoy	Greek, Ktismata Group

15	Kostandini i voglith	The Little Kostandin,	Arbëresh, Women's Group
16A,B,C	Modet pentatonike	Pentatonic Modes	Types A, B, B1, 16B, 16C
17	Apekema/Apechema	"Nenano"	

Audio Examples

Tr.	*Title in Alb., Arom. & Greek*	*Title in English*	*Region & Country*
1	Ç'ma ke syrin-o	Your Beautiful Eyes	Vëzhdanisht, Vlorë, Alb.
2	Thëllëzë e Gjirokastrës	Dainty of Gjirokastër	Gjirokastër, Albania
3	Vajz' e bukur-o (Katina nina-)	Beautiful Girl	Himarë/N. Muko, Albania
4	Ju o malet e Skraparit	O You Mountains of …	Skrapar, Albania
5	O po kur më shkon djalë …	When You Walk Down …	Përmet, Albania
6	Në ulliri	At the Olive Tree	Çam (Fier), Albania
7	Featã mutreashti napãrti di … Vajza që vështron nga deti	A Lass Gazes at the Sea	Andon Poçi (Arom.), Alb.
8	Prota diminiatsã a li Anastasii Mëngjesi i parë i Anastasisë	The First Morning of Anas.	Kefalovriso, Greece
9	Ena savato vrádhi Një e shtunë mbrëma	One Saturday Night	Parakalamos, Greece
10	Kinisa na rtho na vrádhi U nisa të vij në mbrëmje	I Was About to Come…	Pogoni, Greece
11	Ti ndë një finestër e u nën një …	You Under the Window …	Lungro, Italy

Tr.	*Title in Alb., Greek & Latin*	*Title in English & Ital.*	*Region/Country & Group*
12	Për shumë vjet, o Kryezot	God Grant Thee Many …	Boston/*Mesha* Shqip, USA
13	Guri kur u vulos …	While the stone…1st Tone	Tiranë/Kori bizantin/Alb.
14	Asate Kyrie	1st Tone, Versetto salmico, Kinonikon	Tardo, *L'Antica Melur. Biz.* Italy
15	Nyn e dynamis	Liturgia dei Presantificati Inno Cherubico, Tono IV	Tardo, *L'Antica Melur. Biz.* Italy
16	Epì si cheri …/ In You Rejoices	Megalinàarion dell' 1 genn.	Piana Delli Albanesi, Coro dei Papàs
17	Zëri i gjashtë	6th Tone (Plag. of 2nd T.)	Papa Jani, St Demetrio Cathedal., Sicily
18	Megàlinon	Megalinario	Eparchia di Lungro, Italy
19	"Protect, O Most Glorious"	Plagal of the 2nd Tone	Greek Byz. Choir, Angelop.
20	Offertoire, Terra tremult	Notus in ludes	Chan. de l'Égl. de Rome, Pérès

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PREFACE

This study is concerned with the vocal *iso*(*n*) repertory, used, on the one hand, in the oral traditions of the *multipart unaccompanied singing* (IMUS)[1] of the Southwest Balkans or more specifically South Albania, North Epirus in Greece and a small part of the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), and on the other hand in Byzantine chanting. The vocal iso(n) is an important component of these traditions, which are still practised today in the Southwest Balkan region. The study attempts to present evidence on various manifestations of the practice in their particular geographical regions and examines in detail the historical roots of these traditions.

An ison, a drone holding-note, comes from the Greek (ισον) and is the voice that provides the drone in a Byzantine chant (Eastern Christian Chant). This chant is part of the liturgical music of the Orthodox Churches, in contrast to the IMUS, which has developed as a secular repertory. In Albanian, the same word for the same function in the oral traditional IMUS is spelt *iso*. Both versions of the spelling will be used throughout this survey, *ison* in the sense of the Byzantine chanting and *iso* to refer to the South Albanian IMUS. An intermediate form of spelling with the use of brackets, *iso*(*n*) will also be used in order to characterise a liaison between the two linguistic forms. In both types the iso was never written down, but in Byzantine ecclesiastical chants the ison is a written neume, the earliest scored records of which can be found only from the beginning of the 19th century.

The research aims also to study the relationship, if any, between secular and religious practices, that is the iso(n) used in the oral traditions of the IMUS and that of the Byzantine Chanting. The former vocal iso repertory is broadly used in the multipart (two- and three-part) singing with iso of the rural and urban areas of Southwest Balkans and is profane, whereas the latter it is widely practised today in Greek Byzantine churches all over the world. The Byzantine liturgical singing of the Arbëresh Diaspora of South Italy and Sicily, which has been passed down orally from the 15th century to the present day, as well as non-liturgical singing, is also explored in this book.[2] The three unaccompanied forms of singing, two of which use the ison (the IMUS and the Byzantine chant) and the

third, the Arbëresh, which does not (with some exceptions in recent times), are analysed in separate sections of the book.

Unlike many studies of similar subject matter, which suffer from a one-sided point of view because of national bias, this book is multifaceted and even-handed. While multipart singing in Albania is usually considered to be a solely Albanian phenomenon, in Greece, it is thought of as being Greek. The Aromanians too believe that the multipart singing has generated from their tradition. In fact, the multipart singing of the Albanian and Greek, as well as Aromanian and some Slavic populations is more intrinsically bound to the region than to any ethnic group. The distinct sound of iso(n) singing echoes the internal and external historic influences of the region, interwoven with the complex modal idioms. As a result, in the regions of South Albania and northern Greece (or that of ex-Roman provinces of Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova, created during Diocletian's reorganization), a distinct and rich local sound developed, echoing the voices and instrumental music of the East.

There are a substantial number of publications, which have treated the ison question of the Eastern chant.[3] In reading several of these, I found that the authors had invested a great deal of effort studying the many aspects of this chant. Many Greek scholars, both from a liturgical as well as a musicological point of view, have researched the Byzantine ison and other modal issues related to it. Therefore, I will try to avoid as much as possible the unnecessary duplication of the findings already made by other researchers. My aim is to observe the iso(n) function as it is used in both the IMUS and Byzantine chant. The geographical range of this kind of singing, i.e. with the use of iso(n), covers an area that includes a variety of north Mediterranean cultures and others, further afield.

It would be beyond the scope of this small scale and locally specific research to aim at establishing the very source and origins of the iso(n) and to explore its ancient roots or provide evidence of its existence during that early time of the possible ison-like practices.

Although in Western references, there is no mention that the use of iso(n) is to be found before the Late Byzantine times (from about the 15th century to the advent of the Chrysanthine reform at the beginning of the 19th century), the possibility cannot be excluded that the drone was used in previous centuries. This study does not attempt to prove that the iso(n) was practised continuously from the ancient Greek period and its Esoteric music theory. It is also hard to prove that the iso was an element of ancient Southwest Balkan multipart singing since there is little evidence to support such an assumption. There are several questions to be raised but not all of them can yet be given answers.

a) What could be the age of the iso(n) used in the Southwest Balkans?
b) Was the ison used during Koukouzel's time (born *c*1280, died 1360–75)?
c) To which period does the IMUS belong: the period of Antiquity, Christianity or the Middle Ages?
d) Are the traditional multipart pentatonic songs just folk songs and dances from the Albanian-Greek Ottoman milieu or are they secular music connected with the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period?
e) Has the IMUS been affected by Byzantine music?

Notes

[1] The term IMUS (Iso-based Unaccompanied Multipart Singing) will be used throughout.
[2] Arbëresh, or Italo-Albanians, are the Albanian-speaking population in parts of southern Italy and Sicily, the descendants of the 15th century refugees from the Balkans. Maintaining their native culture and language, they now populate about 50 villages in Southern Italy.
[3] The Classical Byzantine and Neo-Byzantine Chants will be analysed here: the Classical Byzantine Chant is that which developed up to the 15th century and the Neo-Byzantine Chant starts from the 15th to present day.

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My sincere thanks go to Arts and Humanities Research Council (British Research Council) for the financial support which enabled me to commence this project and providing me with a bursary to undertake study trips to Greece, Italy and Albania. Without their grant, the writing of this book would not have been possible.

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I am sincerely and heartily grateful to Papa Jani for his great skill and passion conveyed through his beautiful singing of the Oktoechos both in Arbëresh and Greek languages. I would also like to offer my special thanks to Bishop Sotir Ferrara for the Eparchy of Piana degli Albanesi in Sicily, for his vivid and historical narration relating to the Arbëresh Church and its traditional teachings of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dimitri Conomos for his precious advice he gave me in the deciphering of the earliest Byzantine neumes. Advice given also by Sokol Çunga has been a great help in clarifying many more types of ambiguities in the same field.

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I would like to express my very great appreciation to Girolamo Garrofalo for his valuable and constructive suggestions during the planning of this research work at different Arbëresh places of Sicily and in Piana degli Albanesi in particular. His willingness to give his time so generously has been very much appreciated.

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I want to thank many people for their support, as, without it, all of my work, from the thought process to the actual writing up, would not have been completed.

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INTRODUCTION

> They finished our entertainment by singing some songs both in Albanian and modern Greek. One man, sang or rather repeated, in loud recitative, and was joined in the burthen of the song by the whole party … They also dwelt a considerable time on the last note (as long as their breath would last), like the musicians of a country church.
>
> —Lord Broughton 1855

In Europe the term *ison* or *drone* is known by many names but most derive from "burdo" and "bordunus", reflecting the terms' origins in Medieval Latin. In France it is "bourdon", in Italy "bordone", "bordun" in Germany and as "burdon" in England. Sometimes it is *burden* (an archaic term for the drone) or as used by Lord Broughton, *burthen.*

The definition and development of the *ison* have been studied and tracked by various scholars, for Emsheimer; "The general concept of vocal polyphony is that of the simultaneous outflow of two or more voices of a more or less pronounced individuality… Also belonging to this category are songs with a continuous drone sounding throughout, songs in which, accordingly, there is one as it were congealed tone which has no part in the melodic unfolding; and also these are the songs that we have become accustomed to designate as *heterophonic*" (Emsheimer 1964, 43 & 46). Beniamin Kruta has written that the "voices in Albanian polyphony, including the *burdon*, form an interdependent partnership, which demonstrates an original development of this polyphony" (Kruta 1991, No. 1, 70). In another survey Kruta has written that the term *iso* "has known a massive utilisation during the last three decades. Before this period, the employment of this term was very rare since the term 'iso' in certain mountainous regions was not at all known" (Kruta 1991, No. 2, 45). Moody has attempted a more philosophical explanation of the use of the ison in Byzantine chant: "Ison … should not be thought of as polyphony: rather, it is a splitting of the unison, a means of underlining the modality of the chant, a symbol of the eternal" (Kontakion [Moody] 1997, 7).[4]

This study is primarily concerned with the vocal dron/iso(n), although it may be noted that it can also take an instrumental form. From the brief discussion above it should be clear that definitions and terminology in this area are not uniform; hence a short explanation of my choice of

terminology might be useful at this point. I prefer to use the term "multipart" for this type of drone instead of the more commonly used "polyphonic". The latter is really not precise enough since the *iso,* being a firm tone, "has no part in the melodic unfolding" (Emsheimer 1964, 44). Martin Boiko is of a similar opinion and tries to limit the use of "polyphony" in favour of "multipart". As well as being technically imprecise, "polyphony" also presents problems with translation. Although the term "polyphonic" is used throughout Albania and the Balkans, it should be stressed that the use of the term "polyphony" or "polyphonic" by the South Albanian and Northern Greek peoples as well as the Aromanian people, all of whom are located within a similar geographical area, is derived from a literal translation of the ancient Greek *polyphōnos* (many-voiced) and therefore connotes nothing of actual musical technique. To the average Albanian, "polyphony" or "polyphonic" would simply suggest multi-part singing; they would likely be unaware of the scholarly use of the term which refers to medieval European polyphony (independence of voice and rhythmic parallelisms). "Polyphony" and "polyphonic" used in an academic sense were introduced into the Albanian scene in the first half of the 20th century and were intended to designate a musical technique and style in which all or several of the musical parts move to some extent independently. Thus, the Western term for "polyphony" and the Albanian or Greek "polyphony", as it is still used today, are not comparable with one-another for musical-theoretical reasons.

The IMUS is not an isolated phenomenon. It has survived in many local musical traditions of the north Mediterranean as well as in pan-European traditional music and beyond, in forms as various as Scottish bagpipe tunes, Sardinian multipart singing, Latvian folksongs of the old variety—the *dainas,* Georgian folk polyphony and Indian music. Multipart singing styles, with or without a drone, have been preserved in the oral traditions of the Balkans; including Bulgaria, the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; and also in Western Europe, in Italy (Sicily, Sardinia), France (Corsica) and Portugal. However, the iso as used in various styles of multipart unaccompanied singing in Southwest Balkan rural and urban societies is identified by its own musical grammar and melodic formulae. It can be differentiated, for example, from the three-part singing of the Corsican *paghjella,* the Sardinian *tenore* or Mid-Western Bulgarian multipart singing. The Balkan Peninsula, particularly the area where Albania is now situated, has long attracted researches and travellers who have noted and written about the local traditional music, and the impressions from those observations have been of various kinds; James Dallaway makes clear in his reflections; "the

dronish chant, unassisted by instrumental music, has high antiquity … for the dullest ears would be disgusted by such a grating monotony" (Dallaway 1797, 414).

As a participatory and unifying element the ison is an important component of Byzantine ecclesiastical music. The congregations and practitioners of Orthodox religious ceremonies would be unlikely to acknowledge any relationship between their repertoire and that of traditional IMUS communities (IMUS communities who in turn would likely be just as unwilling to acknowledge a shared heritage). Nevertheless, we may suggest some similarities in traces of microtonic intervals, modal character, free rhythms, improvised ornamentations, intoning process, as well as a thoroughly vocal repertory posed to an oral transmission process, and—above all—the iso(n), all of which are found in both traditions. Further work is required to sufficiently identify any relationship between these two very different traditions but nevertheless there seems to be scope for further study in this area.

Curt Sachs in his chapter "Western Orient" discusses the drone features in the musical systems of the ancient world explains:

> Droning is indeed the basic form of counterpoint wherever double pipes are played. The Arabian *arğül* and the double oboes of India, the Sardinian triple clarinet *launeddas*, and practically all bagpipes in the world provide one pipe for the melody and the other for the sustained pedal tone below the melody. Drones, archaic in themselves, were doubtless known at least five thousand years ago. On one relief of the Egyptian Old Kingdom a double clarinet is depicted, and Sumer has left double oboes of the same time; on some pictures of the Egyptian New Kingdom (after 1500 BC) the piper fingers the right cane with both hands while the left cane is merely supported by the thumb, which clearly indicates that the left cane sounds a drone (Sachs 1943, 98 & 99).

Questions concerning the use of the iso in secular and pre-liturgical repertories, as well as in Byzantine chant, have drawn the attention of several scholars who over the years have introduced the idea of possible iso(n) marks in Southwest Balkan native musical traditions. Doris Stockmann, for instance, in her *Zur Vokalmusik der südalbanischen Çamen,* writes: "[Kenneth] Levy drew attention to the parallel use of the *ison* drone in Greek liturgical music and suggested the possibility of persistent traces of Byzantine liturgical practice in Albania … Rajeczky asked whether it was quite certain that the *ison* came from Byzantine Church music. Precisely the opposite might have occurred. Hoerburger noted that the *ison* singers were to be met with in the Greek part of Southern Epirus, but only among refugees from the Albanian area" (D.

Stockmann 1963, 44). Levy himself provides a more thorough examination of the Byzantine ison:

> To Western ears, the most striking Byzantine performing practice is the use of an Ison or drone to accompany liturgical singing. This is still heard in Orthodox churches. The earliest creditable evidence for the practice goes back to perhaps 1400. It was well established in the mid-15th century and was described in 1584 by the German traveller Martin Crusius:[5] "more utricularium nostrorum, alius vocem codem sono tenet, alius, *Dra Dra*, saltatorium in modum canit". There are indications that Ison singing (or perhaps simple parallel polyphony) extends back farther than the 15th century, but there is no independent Byzantine polyphony of the kind that developed in the west (Levy 1980, 561).

The use of the ison and other components in Byzantine chant has attracted Greek and non-Greek scholars and several have attempted to identify the Byzantine ison as far back as the 13th or 14th Centuries during Koukouzel's time.[6] Conversely, Dimitri Conomos, has stated that "the introduction of the drone, or Ison singing, so familiar in contemporary Greek, Arabic, Romanian and Bulgarian practice, is not documented before the 16th century, when modal obscurity, resulting from complex and ambiguous chromatic alterations which appeared probably after the assimilation of the Ottoman and other Eastern musical traditions, required the application of the tonic, or home-note, to mark the underlying tonal course of the melody" (Conomos 1982, 1). Tillyard also identifies a later origin in his *Twenty Canons from the Trinity Hirmologium*; "no directions or the tempo or manner of singing have come down to us from the Middle Ages. … The drone or the holding-note, often heard at the present day, is not mentioned until the sixteenth century and may be a late importation from the East. This also applies to the nasal singing which displeased many travellers in Greece in the nineteenth century" (Tillyard 1952, 6).[7]

A German-Albanian expedition was carried out in 1957 by Erich Stockmann (group leader), Wilfred Fiedler (linguist), Johannes Kyritz (technician), Ramadan Sokoli (ethnomusicologist) and Albert Paparisto (musicologist) in three different places in Albania (Fier, Babicë and Skelë, near Vlorë) where the Chams (Albanian Çam)[8] were spread out and settled after the Second World War. After the expedition a meticulous study of this very type of Cham singing was made by Erich and Doris Stockmann.

Albanian scholars, such as Kostandin Trako (1919–1986), Ramadan Sokoli (1920–2008), Beniamin Kruta (1940–1994), Kosta Loli (1948–), Spiro Shituni (1951–), Sokol Shupo (1954–), Vasil Tole (1963–) and Ardian Ahmedaja (1965–), have all contributed to the study of the

multipart songs and singing. In articles on Albanian traditional music, Trako, a scholar of the Academy of Religious Music in Bucharest, has dealt with the role and function of the iso(n) in this music by describing it as a "pedal". "The tonalities of the Korçare music", according to Trako, "are always shaped, based on and made to revolve around Byzantine and Gregorian Medieval scales with most of them involving pentatonic scales" (Trako 1943, 2–3). Examining the different types of diaphonic instruments such as *cula-diare*, *bishnica* and *gajde* (folk instruments with two pipes, one for the tune and the other for the drone/iso), which are played in the manner of multipart songs, Sokoli has pointed out that this kind of "pedal was an earlier practice than the ison used in the *Papadike* and *Heirmological* practice of Byzantine liturgical songs" (Sokoli 1965, 135). Ahmedaja has stated that "traces of these [drone] features can be noticed in the Arbëresh songs" (2001, 269). Shupo has indicated three main possible ways the iso was introduced into Albanian unaccompanied multipart song: first, as a continuation from ancient Greek culture; second, as a derivation from Byzantine music which itself was also based on the ancient patterns; and third (the most complex and debatable), as a result of Arabic musical influence on South West Europe. There is also a fourth approach, (although less credible according to Shupo) which associates the iso's origin with the period of the Ottoman occupation.[9]

Kruta's work on the iso question, in particular, benefits greatly from his regular field research expeditions to South Albania and his meticulous observations. He has explored the possible existence of the iso in Southern Italy, among the Arbëresh people, who followed both the traditional and Byzantine music of Albania and Morea.[10] Kruta has categorically dismissed the suggestion of some non-Albanian scholars that the iso/drone has evolved alongside the multipart unaccompanied singing through the Byzantine liturgy, and states that "the drone does not come from Byzantium". He argues that "the traditional music of other Balkan nations, such as Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania and particularly Greece, although having had an influence from the Byzantine or Bogomil liturgy, there is no evidence that this music has known the bourdon … Thus, if the iso had penetrated into South Albanian traditional song from the Byzantine chant, it would have also diffused to the central Albanian regions, and, certainly, to the other traditional songs of the Balkan peoples" (Kruta 1991, 69). There is certainly a logic to Kruta's argument but I feel there is still room for discussion on this issue.

Notes

[4] Ivan Moody in "Kontakion: Mysteries of Byzantine Chant", Audio CD, 1997, Label: Philips, ASIN: B000001340

[5] Martin Crusius (1526–1607). His "Turcograeciae libri octo" published in 1584, in Basel, mentions reports of having heard the drone sound.

[6] Jan Koukouzel, a distinguished composer of the 14th century became famous in the imperial court of Constantinople for his remarkable voice, a gift which made him a favourite of the Byzantine emperor and won him the sobriquet *angelophonos* ("angel-voice"). … Koukouzel appears as an innovator at the beginning of the 14th century, perhaps the first to abandon an older, more conservative manner of composing for new melodic invention.

[7] "Twenty Canons from the Trinity Hirmologium", transcribed by H. J. W. Tillyard**,** in *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, American Series No. 2, vol. 4, Boston, Paris, London, Copenhagen 1952.

[8] In this paper the versions Çam, Çamëri will be used in an Albanian context, and Cham, Chameria, in non-Albanian.

[9] Personal communication, April 2004.

[10] *Morea* is a term applied only to the Peloponnesus but in colloquial Albanian it is often extended to include the whole of southern Greece.

PART I:

SYNTHESIS

CHAPTER ONE

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EX-ROMAN EPIRI, *VETUS* AND *NOVA*

Before it saw significant changes in the first decades of the 20th century the region covered by South Albania and North West Greece was largely pastoral, inhabited by a population whose lives were tied inexorably to the land. In this it was not too far removed from southern mainland Greece, although it retained its own distinctive geographical and rural features. However, one major difference marked this area out; it had not become a part of the Greek state until 1912, almost a hundred years after the Greek revolution, at the very same time that Albania won its independence.

The Southwest Balkan region that practises the ison-based multipart unaccompanied singing (IMUS) and the specific anhemitonic pentatonic system is now shared between the modern states of Albania, Greece and a small part of the Southwestern Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). In the course of this research the term "Epirus" will be used only for historical reasons and in strictly geographical and cultural contexts, i.e. as a geographical concept and not an ethnic connotation. "Epirus" is the Greek word for "mainland" and the ancient term "Epirus", where the concentration and most elaborated area of the IMUS and anhemitonic pentatonic systems are practised, is used here to refer mainly to the region that was earlier called the Roman province of *Epirus Vetus* (Old Epirus), regardless of modern political boundaries. In the same way, the term "Epirus" also refers sometimes to the late Roman province *Epirus Nova* (New Epirus), which encompasses the northern part of the Epirus Vetus. It is necessary to clarify that the terms "Epirus" or sometimes Epiri (the latter encompassing both Vetus and Nova) describe better the region where the IMUS was and is practised, instead of frequent delineation to South Albania and northern Greece. Today's Albania partly occupies the ancient provinces of New Epirus and Old Epirus. In the last hundred years or so and especially since the Second World War the term "Epirus", or more specifically "Northern Epirus" (as the Greeks call a part of southern Albania)[1], is used not in the sense of a solely geographical term, but as an

ideological and political term of great density, which has, from time to time, carried the emphasis of an irredentist content.

Northwestern Greece (Epirus) and the Southwestern Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) were once closely linked and the route from Janina to Florina, Manastir (Bitola) and Salonika (Thessaloniki) passed through the city of Korçë. The historical region of Epirus Vetus is generally regarded as having extended from the Akrokeraunian mountains (to the south of the Bay of Aulon/Vlora) in Albania, to the mouth of the Acheloos river (Gulf of Arta or the Ambracian Gulf) in Greece. Its eastern boundary was defined by the Pindus Mountains that form the spine of mainland Greece and once separated Epirus Vetus from Macedonia and Thessaly. The river Vjosa (the ancient Aoos) defined the northern border line of Epirus Vetus. The Vjosa continued into what was once the bordering province of Epirus Nova. Extending north up to the Mati river, and stretching east around the region of Lake Ohrid. Epirus Nova contained several cities of great importance including Dyrrhachium and Apollonia. To their west the Epiri (Epirus Vetus and Nova) overlooked the Adriatic and Ionian Seas; although the Island of Corfu, located just off the coast, is not generally regarded as being part of the southern province. This Province was dominated by a large Illyrian population but nevertheless contained a strong Roman presence. In South Illyria there were settlements of mixed Romanic indigenous tribes who spoke a Romanin or Romance language and were known later as Aromanian/Vlachs.

The Greeks call the Epirus region Thesprotia while the Albanians call it Çamëri (Chameria). Until the mid-16th century, the population of this region was almost entirely Christian and during the entire 18th century Muslims were still a minority among the Albanian population. It was only in the second half of the 19th century that Muslim Çams (Chams) began to surpass the Orthodox Chams in numbers. A compact group of Albanian-speaking populations, Muslim and Christian, lived in the Greek Thesprotia/Chameria until 1944 at which time the Muslim Çams were forcibly moved from west Epirus and re-settled in sundry groups along the Albanian coast between Sarandë and Durrës. Budina and Hart have suggested that the Muslim Çams in Epirus "maintained a separate presence until their exodus during the 1920s and during and after WWII. Unlike the Arvanitas (this is the name given to Albanians living in Greece), who settled as independent small farmers and stockbreeders in Greece, the Chams had composed land-owning class" (Budina & Hart 1995, 54–62).

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My aim here is to focus on the musical borders of the Southwest Balkans where the drone-based singing and the anhemitonic pentatonic system of music have been practised over the centuries. However, as will become clear, musical borders cannot always be so easily separated from political boundaries. The geo-political landscape of the Southwest Balkans, including in this study parts of Albania and the Epirus region, has changed dramatically over the centuries. It is a history of a series of radical political changes that saw old empires fall and new empires rise to rule in their place. With them they brought new ideas, new peoples and new cultures. The region saw much suffering and warfare but it also played host to a remarkable meeting of cultures; invaders often became settlers, bringing with them new styles of music. Over time these gradually became intermingled with existing techniques to produce the rich musical history of the region which is in part the subject of this book. To understand this heritage we must, therefore, turn to the politics and history of the region, a brief overview of which will inform and enrich our understanding of its musical heritage.

The ancient Greek historian Strabo tells of fourteen independent tribes who lived in this area over a time period roughly stretching from 1270 to 168 BC; ruled by a long line of kings they formed the main part of the Kingdom of Molossia. The most prominent of these kings was Pyrrhus of Epirus (318–272) who began his life at the court of the Illyrian king Glaukias. Plutarch, the 1st and 2nd century (AD) historian, writes that after a battle with the Macedonians "Pyrrhus, returning gloriously home, enjoyed his fame and reputation, and was called "Eagle" by the Epirots. "By you", said he, "I am an eagle; for how should I not be such, while I have your arms as wings to sustain me?"

Thucydides, the 5th century (BC) historian, classified the Epirote tribes, the Thesprotians, Molossians and Chaonians, as "barbarians" who spoke a language that was non-Greek. It seems likely that there was an ethnic and linguistic mixture in Epirus, some tribes speaking Illyrian, some Greek or Thracian, others both languages (Strabo calls them in Greek "diglottoi").[2] Hammond writes that "the archaeological evidence shows that Greek culture, as revealed in pottery and other objects, did not penetrate into inland Epirus, except at Dodona and there only to a very limited extent, until the fourth century. The historical evidence in general and Thucydides' description of the tribes of inland Epirus as *barbaroi* are in agreement with the archaeological evidence" (Hammond 423, 1967).

In 168 BC the Illyrian/Epirotic lands became a Roman province and a Roman military road, the famous Via Egnatia (Egnatian Road) was constructed in the late 140s BC. It stretched from the cities of Epidamnus

and Apollonia ("an exceedingly well-governed city" according to Strabo) on the Adriatic Coast, across the new provinces of Macedonia and Thrace, to the Black Sea, thereby linking Rome with its eastern colonies. In 396 AD the Roman Empire split into two; the Western half was now ruled from Rome and the Eastern half, which contained the lands which now make up Albania and Greek Epirus, came under Constantinople's control. Diocletian reorganised these eastern lands into the provinces of Epirus Vetus, with its main centre at Nicopolis, and Epirus Nova, whose political-hubs were Dyrrhachium (Durrës) and Apollonia. It is to this area in the period of Roman rule that many of today's Aromanian/Vlach peoples can trace their ancestors, their Latinised provincial heritage has been preserved in their distinct customs and Vulgar Latin-based language. They are still concentrated in considerable numbers around the Pindus Mountains and in Albania, North Epirus, Western Thessaly and FYROM.

For both the Illyrians and the Greeks Epirus had been a marginal land. By first half of the 20th century many scholars believed that Thracian, Illyrian and possibly ancient Macedonian were, if not one language, then at least very closely related. There have been attempts to prove that the similarities between Thracian and Illyrian match with the present day Albanian and Romanian. Hamp asserts "most Albanian-Rumanian correspondences come from borrowings by Vulgar Latin (as precursor of Rumanian) in Dardania from an Illyrian substrate" (Hamp 3, 1963).

By the turn of the 11th century the Roman Church had reached a point of crisis; differences in language, culture and religion, and disagreements over papal authority and important canonical issues were pulling the two sides of the empire apart. In 1054 the Great Schism saw the once sister churches of Rome and Constantinople split away from each other. This struggle had a direct impact on the Southwest Balkans, Albania and Epirus. Most Albanians living in the mountainous north became Roman Catholic, while in the southern and central regions, the majority became Orthodox. In the north Latin was the dominant written language whereas in the south Greek predominated. Such splits were not uncommon in an empire with a rich ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity.

The Byzantine Emperor Justinian (527–565) had a substantial impact on this area. It was Justinian who first codified Roman law and built the most famous Byzantine church, Sancta (Hagia) Sophia, in Constantinople, one of the supreme monuments of all Christian architecture. Justinian's father, Sabatius, was of Dardanian/Illyrian origin and Justinian saw his mission within a Latin tradition. Despite the turbulence of the 6th century, Justinian's reign witnessed the construction of some remarkable churches and forts in the Southwest Balkan Peninsula and around Byllis (present

Albania) in particular. In Dardania, near the place of his birth, Justinian gave his name to the city of *Justiniana Prima* and established a new archbishopric there. Many scholars believe that Justinian moved the seat of the Prefect of Eastern Illyricum from Thessaloniki to his newly founded city. As a result of Justinian's efforts music and hymnography played a major role in the liturgy of the church and became increasingly popular.

After 640 the Slavs overran the Balkans, bringing fresh turmoil to a region that had already suffered dramatic depopulation following previous barbarian invasions (Goths, Huns and Avars) and settled principally in the northern part of the Peninsula. After two centuries of almost continuous warfare with the Byzantine Empire, the Bulgarians, under Tsar Simeon, succeeded in overrunning most of the Peninsula including Epirus Nova and Epirus Vetus. The Bulgarians firmly established themselves and Simeon became a very powerful Monarch (893–927). "Probably at this time [end of the Tenth century] the Albanians were driven by these and other invaders into the more inaccessible parts of the country, from whence they emerged about a century after the destruction of Achris [Ochris/Ochrid] and began to act a more important part upon this theatre" (Hughes 1820, 6). Bulgarian supremacy was eventually brought to an end by defeat in 1014 at the hands of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II and by 1018 the last remaining Bulgarian strongholds had surrendered and the area again became part of the Empire.[3]

In the 11th century the Byzantine Empire's wars once again saw the region subjected to foreign invasion; Norman armies captured Dyrrhachium and penetrated deep into central Albania and Epirus. In the crusades of the 13th century these lands became a major thoroughfare for European armies heading for the Holy Land. In 1204 a crusader army that had been marching to the Holy Land instead attacked and captured Constantinople. The new rulers deposed the ruling patriarchs and appointed Latin Patriarchs in their place. These new appointments were then granted Papal ratification. In the meantime Venetian forces that had been part of the crusading force had taken control of Albania and Epirus. The king of Naples, Charles I of Anjou, captured Dyrrhachium and entered into negotiations with the Albanian chieftains. He proclaimed himself King of Albania (Regnum Albaniae) in 1272, establishing a period of rule that would last for a century. Years of invasion and occupation had by then weakened former Roman and Byzantine cultural centres and many local people of the Illyrian/Epirotic regions had migrated or disappeared. However, there remained sections of these peoples who endured and whose culture, tradition and music survived the turmoil of the centuries, not unchanged, but still retaining a clear and discernible link to their past.

In 1204, the Despotate of Epirus, one of the successor states of the Byzantine Empire, was founded in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and later emerged as an independent Byzantine province. "Surrounded by the sea to the west, its [Epirus'] geography promoted a spirit of independence. At the beginning of the 13th century its independence became a fact. The rest of the Greek world was to be subjugated by the Latins, in addition to French and Italian crusaders and their descendants. But Epirus was, for a long time, to remain free from their control and influence" (Nicol 1984, 1). The Despotate of Epirus lasted for about two centuries (1267–1479) during which time it was ruled in turn by Greeks, Italians, Serbians, Albanians, Italians (again) and by the Turks. These changes had a significant influence on the feudal system and ethnic composition of the Despotates (see further, Chapters 4 and 7).

The advent of Tsar Stefan Dušan at the beginning of the 14th century saw the Serbs reassert their power in the region. In the 1300s Dušan conquered the whole of Albania (with the exception of Dyrrhachium), Epirus, Macedonia and Northern Greece. On his death in 1355 Dušan's empire collapsed and for a period Albania and Epirus were ruled by local chieftains, mainly of Albanian origin, stretching from Northern Albania to the Gulf of Arta. The beginning of the 14th century was marked by the southward migration of many Albanian peasants. The violence and disruption of Stefan Dušan's empire building and the threat of plague—the Black Death struck the region in 1347—likely persuaded many peasants to abandon their homelands in the north and to head south to the rural areas that surrounded the cities of Greece.

A powerful and expanding Ottoman Empire conquered the Balkan Peninsula in the 14th and 15th centuries, and put an end to the sovereign principalities of Albanian noblemen. In the 15th century Scanderbeg (c.1405–1468) united the Albanian tribes, formed a league of princes among the Albanian chieftains and proclaimed himself Prince of Albania and Epirus. Scanderbeg succeeded in holding up the Ottoman advance into Europe for nearly a quarter of a century. However, following his death resistance against the Ottoman forces collapsed and the area was soon subdued. The old Christian-Latin rulers were replaced by new Muslim Turks.

As Albania and Epirus fell to the invading Turks many people fled to Venice and Southern Italy. There they established villages and there was a high concentration of Albanian migrants in Calabria, Basilicata, Brindisi and Sicily. Long after his death Scanderbeg continued to serve as a source of inspiration and his example endured in the oral and written cultures of Albania and Western Europe. His influence was widespread and attracted

the attentions of some of Europe's cultural elite such as Voltaire, the poet Longfellow and several operatic composers, including Vivaldi. As Winnifrith puts it "Albania did not have a medieval empire, but Scanderbeg did valiant service for the national cause, being indeed much more of a nationalist figure than Stephen Dušan or Tsar Symeon or Basil the Bulgarslayer" (Winnifrith 101, 2002).

In 1787 the Ottoman Empire appointed Ali Pasha as governor of Janina in Epirus, making him the first Albanian to rule in Albania since the Despotate of Epirus in the 14th century when Peter Losha and Gjin Bua Shpata had ruled as despots in Arta. The Pasha of Janina "played a significant role in Ottoman, Balkan, and modern Greek history and … was a critical point of contact between Western Europe and the Ottoman East in the latter half of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century" (Fleming 1999, 5). He was also a fearsome ruler and was described by the poet Lord Byron as "a remorseless tyrant" who was "guilty of the most horrible crimes".

When the Ottomans arrived in Albania and Epirus they found an area divided by religious identity. A rough theological border split the region into a Catholic north and an Orthodox south. Initially the Ottoman authorities avoided forced conversions to Islam but conscription of young men from Christian Albania into Ottoman military units meant religious pressure was soon brought to bear upon the supplicant populations. The first substantial conversions were focused on the Roman Catholic Albanians of the north before expanding to include Orthodox populations in the south. It was in Central Albania, in the area which encompasses both sides of the Shkumbini River, that conversion to Islam was most successful. By the end of the 17th century almost two-thirds of the Albanian population had been converted to Islam.

Explanations for the spread of Islam and the high rates of conversion in Albania at this time vary but it is likely self-preservation played a large role. Those who resisted conversion faced systematic persecution and discrimination at the hands of the State. Non-Muslims were subjected to higher taxes, banned from bearing arms and forbidden from military service. The legal system was based on Islamic law and discriminated heavily against Christians, for example in a court of law the word of a Christian was not accepted against that of a Muslim. Still recent memories of the atrocities they had suffered under the Slavs and the attraction of privileges afforded to converts, most notably a reduction in taxes, increased employment opportunities and access to military enrolment, may well have convinced many Albanians that life would be much easier – and perhaps longer—as Muslim converts.

Freed from the persecution of the state, conversion offered a (limited) space and freedom in which Albanians could still retain a pride in their ancestral heritage and tradition; a certain amount of assimilation as the price to be paid for protecting their distinctive history and culture. Under Ottoman suzerainty Albanian Muslims flourished and achieved high levels of education and culture, supplying the Turks with some of their finest leaders and intellectuals. By the end of the 19th century and into the start of the 20th century some of these leaders were beginning to develop Islamism into a doctrine of Albanian nationalism.

When the question of Albanian autonomy arose in the early 20th century, Christian and Muslim Albanians fought together for the same cause; liberation from Ottoman rule and the full independence of Albania, eventually achieved in 1912. The erudite Catholic patriot Vaso Pasha (1825–1892) in his famous poem *O You Albania* whose last verse-line states "the true religion of Albanians is Albanianism!" emphasised his creed for the unification of the Albanian territories into one *vilayet*.[4] Five centuries of Ottoman rule had left the lands of Albania and Epirus vulnerable to further disruption; ethnic, religious and regional tensions all provided possible fault lines for further conflict. Nevertheless, Albanians surely were among the very few Balkan peoples who managed to find an internal balance between three religions and to build a national identity.

A relative national cohesion may have been forged, certainly no small achievement, but political recognition would take a little longer. Albania had declared independence just as the major powers of Europe were embroiling themselves in a process of geo-political grandstanding and one-upmanship that would reach its tragic apotheosis with the start of the First World War. After 1914 the old Ottoman Empire and with it Albania became a contested area. It wasn't until hostilities had ended and some years of peace had passed that the international community, in 1921, eventually recognised Albanian independence. However, Albania was soon embroiled yet again in European wars and in 1939, as the Second World War began, was one of the first countries to be occupied by Italy. At the end of the war Albania became allied to the "socialist" countries of the Eastern European Bloc. The Albanian Party of Labour, the only legal political party in the country, nationalised the economy and treaties were conducted with Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and China before Albania settled on a policy of "self-reliance". Albania saw out the second half of the 20th century in self imposed isolation until the collapse of soviet regimes across Europe at the very end of the century provided an opportunity for greater foreign engagement.

The dramatic geography of this region, with its beautiful coastline, and dramatic mountainous scenery, has been an enduring constant. Its famous rivers, Shkumbini (the ancient Genusus), Vjosa (the ancient Aoos), Devoll (the ancient Deabolis), Drino and Kalamas (the ancient Thiamis) all still flow through its lands. But while physical borders change slowly, political ones are often in flux. Just as the political control of the Southwest Balkan region has been shared and swapped, won and lost, ever changing for over 2500 years of contested rule, so have the borders that separated and divided the peoples who lived there. Since the Epiri (both Epirus Vetus and Nova), as part of the coastal region of Southwest Balkans, have never been included in one nation state but existed only as provinces or geographic regions, this has produced many claims and counterclaims. This study is interested in trying to correlate specific traditions and cultures to lines on the map, just as rivers and mountains endure despite political changes so in a way does culture and music and it is in a musical context that the area will be discussed.

Others have attempted to fit developments in this region into a historical story of national homogenisation. The need for a kind of homogeneity in both Greek and Albanian nationalist ideologies appeared "to attain mainstream significance and national homogenisation, in which contested areas and cultures have an important symbolic function" (Nitsiakos & Mantzos, 2003, 202). Some scholars from Greece, Albania and Western Europe have treated the traditional music of the region, particularly the multipart singing, as part of a developing nationalist ideology. Such an approach often relies more on the writer's ideology than it does on the music itself.

The Epirus question, ancient and modern, continues to be discussed among archaeologists from Albania, Greece and further afield. New excavations may provide more evidence for a distinctive culture that encompassed both former Roman provinces of Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova. My view accords with Hamp that IMUS was not yet shaped when "the Albanians came into contact with the Romans, at which time their language may well have had a word structure and phonetic shape" (Hamp 67, 1994). This study does not set out to prove a chronological link or analogy in styles between the music that was practised in the Epiri (Vetus and Nova) during the late Roman and post-Roman period and that of the specific pentatonic musical systems or IMUS of the Southwest Balkans. Nor will it put any emphasis on which denomination's population best preserved these archaic traditional forms of practice, a factor that seems to have had little relevance during late antiquity. Nevertheless, if proof of this sort cannot yet be established it does not prevent us asking some

interesting questions. After all, is it not fascinating that these possibly archaic multipart styles are still preserved and may roughly and symbolically define the ex-Roman Epiri borders? Further, that this musical culture presents today a distinctive voice in the Balkans and serves as a melting pot of engagement for the ethnicities that lived and still live in these areas?

Notes

[1] In Greek: Βόρειος Ήπειρος *Vorios Ipiros*.

[2] Even today there were many pockets in the Southwest Balkan area where populations are bilingual or even trilingual.

[3] Baud-Bovy provides some interesting speculation on this point from his musical/poetic analysis. Having identified some similarities between the poetic structure found in one Epirote song and two Bulgarian songs, and this scheme's rare occurrence in the Greek song, Baud-Bovy posed the following hypothetical question: "were, for historical rather than geographic reasons, this strophic scheme to be found equally in Albania, would it be autochthonous or would it have come from Bulgaria when, for 250 years, Albania was part of Great Bulgaria in the 9th and 10th centuries?"

[4] *Vilayet* (Turkish), originally, a small taxation district; after 1864, a large province.

CHAPTER TWO

ISO-BASED MULTIPART UNACCOMPANIED SINGING (IMUS) AND SOME OF ITS COMPONENTS

> Polyphony is not an exclusively European fact. It was independently located in three vast regions isolated from each other: in Europe, starting from the Eastern Mediterranean side up to Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily; in Black Africa, and all along a migration route which starts from Assam, through Indochina, Insulinde and Melanesia, up to Polynesia. An important curiosity: in many of these three independent districts, the evolution of polyphony seems to have been developed in the same way, which makes one think that this process is determined by the music's own nature, i.e. by acoustic and psychological phenomena, common to the whole of humanity, which pre-existed in ethnic differentiations.
>
> —Collaer, 1966, 52

The oral tradition of Iso-based Multipart Unaccompanied Singing (IMUS) in the Southwest Balkans, predominantly Albanians but also including Greeks and Aromanian/Vlachs, has a self-contained regional style. It was associated with indoor group singing as well as outdoor performance (often at polytheist[1] festivals) and developed contemporaneously among agro-pastoral communities in the rural, mountainous and lowland regions of the Southwest Balkans. To this day IMUS in the region retains its traditional forms of practice. Before dealing with IMUS directly I would like to touch on some of its related components; laments (*kaba* or *miriologi*), *çamçe* or *tsamikos* dances and songs, *fustanella* and *Pyrrhic* dance.

Among the most prominent forms of music of South Albania and northern Greece (formerly Epirus Vetus and Nova) are the Albanian *kaba* and the Greek *mirologia*. These two styles share many common expressive devices and regional patterns including improvisation, descending slides, pentatonic developments and are confined not only to funerals but played also at dances, weddings and other festivities. They are often played by

instrumental groups consisting of clarinet, violin and *llauta* (Gr. *laouto*). The IMUS has melodic characteristics in common with the instrumental patterns of the lament. There are other elements, for example melodic formulae, cadential formulae and interval structures that emphasize an affinity between the local modes of these two peoples. Given the long shared history of these regions it is not surprising that their musical traditions should display some similarities in style and form.

In a review on Doris and Erich Stockmann's and Fiedler's book *Albanische Volksmusik*, A. L. Lloyd writes that "though a relatively small group, the Chams have made a deep mark on the folklore of the Southwestern Balkans, lending their name to the Jugoslav *čifte čamče* and the Greek *tsamikos*, two of the most characteristic dances of that part of the globe" (Lloyd 1969, 180). The Cham people (Alb. Çam), an Albanian-speaking ethnic population who inhabit a district of Epirus known as Chameria (Alb. Çamëria; Gr. Τσαμουριά, Tsamouria), "have given their name to one of the most typical dances of continental Greece, the *tsamikos*, or the 'dance of the Chams'" (Baud-Bovy 1967, 126). Among the Cham dances, commonly called *çamçe*, the most renowned is that of "Osman Taka", which is associated with the men who fought against the Turks in Epirus. Meanwhile, the *tsamikos* songs of the Greeks were closely associated with the *klephts*, the men who fought for the Greek independence against the Turks.[2] In contrast to the *tsamiko* dance of the Greeks, the Albanian *çamçe* is an energetic dance in a *rubato* manner whereby a prominent role is taken by the leader of the dancing, accompanied by one or sometimes two other soloist dancers. This pattern of dancing, with the two or three soloists and the group of dancers, imitates to a certain extent the IMUS structure where the prominent role of singers—those of the *marrës* (taker), *kthyes* (answerer) and *hedhës* (thrower)—are sustained by the iso group (see later about these Albanian terms). The most common metre used in the *çamçe* dance is 7/8 or 7/4, thus providing the main soloist, accompanied by the *saze* instrumental group, to conditions in which to exhibit their great dynamism and spectacular choreographic gestures.

Tsamikos and *klephtic* songs, practised widely in the Epirotic area, are performed in a free metre and decorative melodic style with instrumental interludes between verses. The first and slower section of the *tsamiko* is narrative and the refrain usually livelier in a dance-rhythm. The *tsamiko*/*chamiko* is also performed as a slow dance. Chianis, whose study was concerned with the *tsamiko*/*chamiko* of Southern Greece, Roumeli and the Peloponnesus, writes:

> In Epirus, the music of the tsamiko is set in either 4/4, 5/4, 7/4, or 8/4 metres … Not only is a true definition of the term *tsamiko* obscure, but highly controversial. In Roumeli, the word *tsamiko* refers to the folk dance and its accompanying vocal or instrumental melodic line. In the Peloponnesus, it refers to the same folk dance and its melodic line; while in addition, it is termed *klephtiko horos* (Klephtiko refers to a dance of the Klephts), *pidhiktos* or leaping dance, or *arvanitikos horos* (Albanian dance). It should be stressed that these terms are synonymous with *tsamiko*. To compound the issue, the terms *tsamika*, *tsamides*, *tsamopoula* and *tsamis* must be added. In order to arrive at a clearer definition of the basic term *tsamiko*, each of these terms must be defined individually.[3]

He continues:

> Even though the terms *tsamika* and *foustanella* [a pleated kilt] are considered synonymous by Greek peasants, these words are also used with the identical meanings by the Albanians, especially by the *Chams* and the *Tosks* of southern Albania … Dako, believing that the *foustanella* is of Albanian origin, states, "Until the Greek revolution, when Albanian valour made the *fustanella* fashionable in Greece, the kilt was a common Romaic [Greek] term of contempt applied impartially to Albanians. This is the origin of what every Greek now imagines to be his traditional costume" (Dako 1919, 29). Though this controversy may never be settled, the fact remains that both Greece and Albania claim the *foustanella* or *tsamika* as being one of their traditional national costumes (Chianis1967, 15–16).

The *fustanella* or *foustanella* has been presented in various ways by artists and writers. Swire wrote that:

> there is today a slight racial distinction between the Albanians of the north and the south; those of the north, the reserved and warlike Ghegs, among whom, during the last twenty years, the picturesque fustanella has been discarded in favour of close-fitting trousers and short jackets, being, it is thought, descendants of the Illyrians; and those of the south, the affable and more progressive Toscs, who continue to wear the fustanella, being descendants of the Epirots or Pelasgians (Swire 1929, 5).

The closely observing eye of the painter Edward Lear, in his travels around Albania in 1848 and 1849, depicted the *fustanella* as a typical national costume of the Albanians.

Returning to the origins of the *tsamiko* we find Chianis:

> The words Tsamides and Tsamopoulo are also found in Greek folk song texts. Tsamides refers to those people who reside in Tsamouria, located in

> the northern part of Epirus … For the word tsamiko literally means: from Tsamouria. Finally, the term *tsamiko* (referring specifically to that particular type of Greek folk song and its accompanying dance) is also used in Albania, though spelled *tchamicos*.[4] It must be especially emphasized, however, that the Albanian tchamicos and the tsamiko from Epirus and parts of Greek Macedonia are extremely similar, if not one of the same. The tsamiko of Roumeli and the Peloponnesus (and that of Thessaly) is choerographically and musically quite different from its counterpart in northern Greece (Chianis 1967, 16).[5]

There is an Albanian/Epirotic dance considered to be a remnant of the ancient *Pyrrhic* dance that is, according to some authors, associated with the present day *Chamiko*.[6] There are several theories about this dance with some identifying its origins in Crete while others have argued that the Pyrrhic dance was different from the armed dance (Strabo: lib. x. p. 701, ed. Ox). A third argument suggests that "the Pyrrhic dance was part of the duty of the Roman legionary soldier" (Broughton 1855, 145).

Hughes has addressed the issue:

> Most authors however consider the Pyrrhic as a military dance, and many ascribe its origin to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles, who is said greatly to have excelled in it. From a consideration of all circumstances I should think it not improbable that there were two kinds of Pyrrhyc, the one a vile lascivious movement, the other a manly and martial exercise: and this latter was chiefly practised in Sparta, where children were taught it at the early age of five years; and this latter Pyrrhyc it is not improbable that the Albanitico is a remnant … The Albanitico or military dance is still best performed and held in highest repute (Hughes 1820, 31–32).

Sathas has asserted that the Pyrrhyc dance is known in Greece "with the ὸ Α'ρβανίτιχος, ὸ χλέφτιχος, ὸ λεβένιχος χορὸς, and ὸ χαρτσιλαμάς names. The first two are a clear indication of a Pyrrhyc Epirotic origin (Τσάμιδες is an Albanian tribe which has taken its name from and live around the Epirotic river Θύαμις or Calamas); the last, χαρτσιλαμάς, also of the same origin since in Albanian χαρτσέϊγ [kërcej] means *to dance*, *to leap* … Albanians call the danse βάλε, which corresponds with the ancient Greek βαλλισμός. From the Albanian word χαρτσέϊγ and χατσέϊγ derives the neo-Hellenic name of the goat, χατσίχα" (Sathas 1883, LXXVI). Discussing further the dances of the klephts (χλέφτιχος χορὸς) and those of chamikos (τσάμιχος χορὸς), Sathas claims that "the Pyrrhyc dance has not yet been forgotten in Greece. Among the Byzantine authors, Agathias, a 6th century historian, still continues to give to this military dance its ancient name ἡ πυρρίχη. During the course of many centuries up to the present day the Pyrrhyc carries different names while still preserving the

names of the Albanian dance of Thiamis (ὸ τσάμιχος χορὸς)" (Sathas, 1883, LXXIX).

Holland provides another view on the intriguing subject of the Pyrrhic dance. After examining the "national airs of Albania" and their accompanying traditional instruments, he states: "This national dance of the Albanians, the Albanitiko as it is generally called, is very often performed by two persons; I will not pretend to say how far it resembles, or it is derived from, the ancient Pyrrhic, but the suggestion of its similarity could not fail to occur, in observing the strange and outrageous contortions which form the peculiar character of this entertainment" (Holland 1815, 80). Lord Broughton provides a more thorough description of the dance's characteristics.

After being present among the villagers and having witnessed their dancing and singing he observed that they began with a slow dance; the group stood in a semicircle, with the instrumentalists in the middle, accompanying the dancer's movements with their playing. Then the dancers themselves would begin to sing and hold the drone/iso while dancing. The performance struck Broughton as having a distinctively violent character, he described it as follows:

> It is upon the leader of the string that the principal movements devolve, and all the party take this place by turns. He begins at first opening the song, and footing quietly from side to side; then he hops quickly forward, dragging the whole string after him in a circle; and then twirls round, dropping frequently on his knee, and rebounding from the ground with a shout; every one repeating the burden of the song, and following the example of the leader … There is something hazardous, though alluring, in attempting to discover points of resemblance between modern and ancient customs; yet one may venture to hint that the Albanians, from whomsoever they may have learnt the practice, preserve in this amusement something very similar to the military dances of which we find notice in classical authors. At the same time, one would not, as several French travellers have done, talk of the Pyrrhic dance of the Arnoots [Albanians]. Let us look into Xenophon for a description of the Greek and barbarian dances with which he entertained some foreign ambassadors, and we shall fix upon the Persian as bearing the nearest resemblance to the modern dance (Broughton 1855, 144–145).

The Dissemination of the IMUS

The IMUS repertory is predominantly characterised by the music-making of Albanian speakers as well as some other ethnic communities such as north Greeks, Aromanian/Vlachs and, to a lesser extent, Slavs. Within

Toskëri,[7] the land of the Tosk Albanian-speaking populations, there are other ethnic populations and dialects living in such areas as *Myzeqe*, *Toskëri*, *Labëri* and *Bregu i Detit*. The intra- and extra-boundary styles such as those of the Pogoni, Vlach, Cham and Greek areas on both the Greek and Albanian sides of the border will also be integrated into the main body of the IMUS.

Each of these southern ethnic dialects use their own regional IMUS styles, however, they also exhibit strong parallels with each other. The styles found in non-Albanian communities tend to have resembled Albanian Lab singing, while in Cham, Aromanian/Vlach and Southwestern Macedonian communities we find similarities to the Tosk style. The Greek scholar Peristeris has observed that the population of the Dropulli district sing their local songs in the same manner as the Greeks. In Greece, according to Nitsiakos and Mantzos, the "polyphonic singing is identified with certain border identities of the region of Epirus in an area extending from the Ionian coast, near Filiates, as far as the province of Konitsa, its southern limit being beyond the river Kalamas and its northern one the Albanian border itself. Although characterized by many local communities and ethnic groups, such as Vlach and Albanian speakers, it tends to be mostly identified with the Pogoni area, which, ironically enough, is divided between Greece and Albania, seven villages belonging to the latter" (Nitsiakos & Mantzos 2003, 196). Nitsiakos and Manzos point out that "the polyphonic singing tradition constitutes a cultural characteristic shared by the populations inhabiting this border zone on both sides. Although for Greece it constitutes a rather marginal cultural trait, limited to a small geographic area, for Albania it represents a tradition characterising a large part of the population, the Tosks inhabiting the territory south of the river Shkumbin" (Nitsiakos & Mantzos 2003, 198). They also indicate that "in Albania, on the other hand, this tradition is to be found throughout the entire southern part of the country, historically identified, as far as the Albanian population is concerned, with the Tosks, one of the two major ethnic groups, either Albanian, such as the Labs and the Chams or non-Albanian, such as the Greeks and the Vlachs" (Nitsiakos & Mantzos 2003, 196).

This widespread practice of multi-part singing across the region is evidence of a distinctive and active regional music culture. Its popularity and enduring power is both a testament to and a record of the strong ties people there feel to their land, their community and their past. The repertoires of the part-singers are a precious inheritance that has been passed down to them by parents and previous generations; an inheritance that provides opportunities for engaging with the past and for a continuing

restatement of cultural identity. Peristeris carefully investigated the IMUS of the Dropull area period from 1951 to 1956; he wrote that "in the regions between Leskovik and Korçë [in Albania], as well as around Korçë, the polyphonic singing is practised, but in a completely different form. The only resemblance between them is the presence of the Issokrate [drone]" (Peristeris 1971, 52). Peristeris wandered why these multipart songs were not disseminated to north Albania or southern Greece and questioned their historical origin: "Could the above phenomenon, present in Northern Epirus, be a survival from an ancient local form, or could it have been imported from far-off lands?" (Peristeris 1971, 52).

With this type of part-singing it is my view that regardless of their particular ethnic community, whether Albanian, Greek or Aromanian/Vlach, the populations who lived in this part of the Southwest Balkans practised the same basic structure of IMUS, with two or three soloists and the group of iso holders. Collective singing is probably the most representative feature of the rural and urban populations in south Albania, a small part of north Greece and up to Western Macedonia (FYROM), where solo (monodic) singing is limited to a few genres such as laments and lullabies. In multipart singing of this geographical area (both polyphonic and heterophonic textures sustained by a choral iso) the solo introduction of each new musical phrase appears in the context of group singing with neat and precise roles.

IMUS Terminology, Structure, Styles and Expressive Devices

The IMUS of this region is organised in two, three and four parts. The Tosk songs consist of two and three parts, whereas in the Lab, Himarë and some Greek-speaking areas, there are two, three and four parts. In the south group singing can also be divided into two main types: multipart singing with an iso and multipart singing without an iso. It is highly probable that those without an iso belong to an earlier stratum than those with the iso. The Tosk and the Lab[8] group singing (those belonging to the largest representative groups) have similarities and differences across their vocal styles, terminology, formal structures and in the functions of each soloist part. The semicircle placement—a horseshoe formation—with the two or three soloists standing in the middle and the iso singers outside them, positioning shoulder to shoulder, plays an important role in this kind of singing and provides for a more compact fusion.

The local terminology that refers to the different vocal parts provides a description of each individual part associated with their geographic names

of ethnic groups. The first soloist is the singer who leads the song, among the Tosks he/she is called *hedhës* (who "throws the voice"), while among the Labs he/she is the *marrës* (the voice who "takes it"). This part chiefly employs the upper register of the voice. In Greek the same term with the same function is called *partis* (πάρτης) and in Vlach *atselu tsi u lia* or *lia cãnticlu*. The second soloist (second part), who occupies the lower register, is called *prerës* among the Tosks (whose voice "cuts it"), or *pritës*, ("waits for it"), while among Labs the *kthyes* ("answers it"). In Greek this is *giristis* (γυριστής) or *klostis* (κλώστης) and in Vlach *atselu tsi u tali*. Where there is a third soloist (in case of a three-part singing with iso) the Labs call it *hedhës* ("throws it"). Then comes the iso voice, that of the chorus, which among the Tosks is called *bën iso* ("makes" the drone) or *mbajnë zënë* ("hold" the voice); among the Labs it is *ia mbush* ("fills it"); among the Greek speaking people—*ison* and among the Vlach—*isu*.

Sugarman asserts that:

> the Prespa community[9] is the only one to my knowledge that uses the verb *rënkoj* for the drone. In the Berat district, singers evidently use the Turkish word *kaba*, which often indicates a melody performed in a low register, while some singers in the Korçë district use the verb *zjejnë* ("to boil"). Slavic families who formerly lived in the Kastoria district along the Albanian border, however, and who sing a similar type of three-voiced polyphony, say that those who perform the drone line *grčat* or *grtat* ("groan"; cf. *rënkojnë*). They thus call their three-voiced songs *grteni pesni*, an equivalent of *këngë me të rënkuar* (Sugarman 1997, 71).

The first soloist (*marrës*) occupies mostly the upper modal range and the second soloist (*kthyes*) replies in a lower range, usually based on the fifth degree of the mode (a fourth down). The opening of the song exposes the modal mood with its characteristic pentatonic motif and prepares either the main theme or the entire melody. It is the "kthyes" (the second soloist) who enters with a cadential formula (just before the "marrës" concludes his opening melodic exposition) and creates a clearly established polyphonic and modal rapport. Both vocal parts make use of melodic motifs or melodic stereotype formulae and singing style. In the case of the three-part songs with iso, as in the Lab, Gjirokastër and Himarë styles, the third/part soloist sings only a few syllables, and creates a rhythmic and harmonic pedal; the latter employs a staggered breathing technique in order to maintain continuity of the sound. Each of these lines in a vertical form finds itself in a relationship with one or two other vertical lines in a cluster of dissonances, often quite rough, built upon the iso. In the majority of cases, the top voice shows the entire text, whereas the second

voice (soloist) uses only a part of it. Each vocal solo line (two or three of them) develops horizontally through many variants of melodic formulae in a consonant pentatonic way.

This form of multipart singing is "harmonised" in a modal and linear way over an iso which serves as a tonal base. In the Tosk style (found in the areas of Myzeqe, Toskëri, adjacent areas of the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) as well as in the Cham style (found in the Greek Epirus) the iso is a continued sound sung most often to a single vowel "e" with a nasal tone. In the Lab style, two or three solo voices sing their text over the drone in a homophonic manner and articulate the iso on the same vowel "e", however, the drone is syllabic and very dense, or "impenetrable" as their singers say.

In order to understand the *structure* of the songs it is important to observe the melodic structures of the soloists. According to E. Stockmann who has studied these songs in detail, "the structure of the solo parts differs considerably according to the different ways of performing the drone, but there is also great variety of structure within the two drone types especially in the pedal style widespread among all ethnic groups" (D. Stockmann & E. Stockmann 1980, 198). Among the Tosks and Chams the formal structure of these songs has a more free and melismatic delivery of the melodic phrase, which varies in length and at times employs partial repetition; whereas a quite strict rhythmical flow of metrical organisation and regular musical units, usually corresponding to the verse line, are more characteristic of the Labs.

The *expressive devices* create a great deal of variety in the singing styles of the Lab, Tosk, Cham and Myzeqe regions; there are points where they overlap and share common features of the IMUS but there are also points where they contain their own distinctive variations. Singing styles characterised by a kind of "horizontality"—a broad range marked with ornamental embellishments of the melodic lines, slides, free rhythm and consonant harmonies – are typical among the Tosks, Chams and Myzeqars. On the other hand, those characterised by a "verticality"—vigorously oscillating melodies featuring a pronounced vibrato or "trembling" effects, sharp rhythmic accents, a flow of dissonances surrounding the *iso* and a more limited melodic activity—are more typical among the Labs. Another characteristic feature of these vocal styles is that each vocal line has its own distinctive timbre and vibrant voice-production, often with an archaic character.

Traditionally all the parts of these multipart singing styles would have been taken by men and it is only relatively recently that clear gender distinctions connected with the separate parts have emerged. It was only in

the second half of 20th century that mixed groups became more common. In such cases, if the main tune is sung by a woman then the second voice is sung by a man and the third (as in the case of three-part Lab, Gjirokastër and Himarë songs with iso) by a man or woman, men and women sing the iso together. It should be stressed that the styles of the "young men" or "young girls" have very much been cultivated on their own; it can be said that among "young girls" a more graceful and poetic feeling is shown; whereas a contrasting feature, such as an agile tempo and animated temperament is notable in the styles of the "young men". Solo singers, especially young men, often sing with considerable strength and volume. Their styles also differ according to regional dialects and the age of the men singing.

Notes

[1] The worship of or belief in more than one god.

[2] Lord Broughton associates the term *klephts* (*kleftes*, *clefts*, *cleftique*, *kleftique*, *klephtiko*) with the exploits of the Albanian banditti (Broughton, Lord. *Travels in Albania and other provinces of Turkey in 1809 & 1810*, London, John Murray, 1855, Vol.1, pp. 140–144).

[3] "Whether this term refers to an Albanian-type dance or the Albanian *Chamikos* cannot be ascertained" (Chianis 1967, 12).

[4] Referring to the description of the *tchamiko* dance by Ramadan Sokoli, in *Les danses populaires et les instruments musicaux du peuple albanais* (Tiranë, Comité albanais pour les relations culturelles avec l'etranger, 1958, p. 21).

[5] Chianis, *The Vocal and Instrumental Tsamiko of Roumeli and the Peloponnesus*, dissertation, U. of California, Los Angeles, University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1967.

[6] The basic type of the Pyrrhic metrical foot is of two successive unstressed syllables, as in ~ ~ ♪♪

[7] In a wider sense, the whole land, *Toskëria*, is inhabited by Albanians south of the river Shkumbin. In a narrow sense, the *Tosk* or *Tosks*, are the main south-eastern ethnic group of Albania.

[8] Labs are the main ethnic group in southwest Albania (*Labëria*).

[9] An Albanian-speaking community live in the region around Lake Prespa, in the Southwest of the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Jane Sugarman has conducted field research into the music of the Prespa community.

CHAPTER THREE

BYZANTINE AND POST-BYZANTINE MUSIC

Byzantium, or the Eastern Roman Empire, was a multicultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic empire which for over one thousand years provided the dominant cultural influence in the eastern Mediterranean. Its power was located predominantly in Asia Minor and the Balkans although at various times this was extended to include places as varied as Northern Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. Its political and religious culture borrowed from across the empire incorporating Persian, Egyptian, Syrian and Western influences. The influence of music of the Christian liturgical rite in the Eastern Empire would eventually spread far wider than the borders of the empire itself, as far afield as Spain, Italy, North Africa, and throughout Greece, Russia and other Slavonic nations. It was once thought that this tradition had its origins in Greek classical music but as this is a misconception;

> Originally, like Plain-song in the West, Byzantine music was a foreign element in the Greek-speaking parts of the Eastern Empire. It was the remarkable achievement of Byzantine Christianity that the chants of the Early Church became an intrinsic part of Byzantine civilisation. We may conveniently consider here what foundation there is for the view, which still finds advocates, that Byzantine Chant was an offspring of Greek classical music. There are three main reasons for the misconception: (1) the fact that the melodies were sung to Greek words; (2) the existence of the Byzantine musical modes, the eight *echoi*, which were thought to be derived from the Greek modes; (3) the aesthetic conceptions of Early Christian and Byzantine theorists, who based their views on Greek philosophers, particularly Plato and his school (Wellesz 1971, 43–44).

In fact the first forms of Byzantine music—early Christian Chant—developed out of two distinct, eastern traditions; Hebrew ritual celebrations and Syriac musical practices. That Byzantine music has a close relationship with Hebrew music is demonstrated by the common melody types and recitation formulas that are found in both traditions. The Southwest Balkan region was an established part of the Eastern Empire and intimately involved in the development of the Byzantine rite. An

important figure in this development was Joannes Koukouzel, a singer, composer and reviser of Byzantine chant whose activity covers the late Byzantine period. Known variously as the *maïstōr* ("master"), the "second source of Greek music" (the first being John Damascene, 8th century) and *angelophōnos* ("angel-voice"), he was one of the most eminent Byzantine musicians during the Palaeologan dynasty (1261–1453) and was later made a saint of the Orthodox Church. … He was born in Dyrrhachium, now Durrës in Albania, but moved to Constantinople while still a child to attend the imperial school as a protégé of the Byzantine emperor (Williams, *Grove Music Online* 2007). With Koukouzel, Byzantine chant entered a new period, devoted largely to the production of more elaborate musical settings and embellishments, and its style became highly ornamented. It is suggested that the ornaments introduced by Koukouzel into Byzantine chanting were characteristic of Southwest Balkan folk singing. By the end of the 18th century, the original musical repertory of medieval musical manuscripts had been completely replaced by later compositions, and even the basic model system had undergone profound modification.

The influence of the Balkans on this music is not restricted to the medieval period. The last major development of the musical notation system of the Byzantine Church was developed over the years 1814–15 by three specialists of the Church Chant and was exposed by one of them; Crysanthos of Madytos, the Archbishop of Durrës. He was not born in Durrës, like Koukouzel, and he did not die there having been transferred to other Sees, but for many years he was the head of the Albanian See of Durrës. His *Great Musical Theory* was presented as part of the reform of Byzantine music in 1821, treating the *echos* (ἦχος), among other ideas, as the scheme of the melody. This work, based on remnants of ancient Greek tetrachordal principles, consisted of a simplification of the Byzantine musical symbols which, by the early 19th century, had become so complex and technical that only highly skilled chanters were able to interpret them correctly. The work of Chrysanthos introduced the system and nomenclature[1] of Neo-Byzantine music upon which the present-day chants of the Orthodox Church are based.[2] Dalia Cohen has stressed that "the Neo-Byzantine music was influenced by Turkish-Arabic music, and that the Neo-Byzantine theory was influenced by the *maqam* system. This fact pertains to the music that existed in important centres such as Constantinople, and to a certain extent mainland Greece. It may be assumed that this influence was felt at the periphery as well, i.e. at places far from the creative centres" (Cohen 1973, 10). Cohen claimed that "the groups, for example, whose practice is related to the Neo-Byzantine theory

are as follows: one belonging to the Arab countries, Cyprus, Turkey, and Greece, all connected to a certain extent with the same theological centres, although of course, each has its own local tradition; another group belonging to the Balkan countries: Albania, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and such areas as Georgia and Hungary, a group with separate local centres" (Cohen 1973, 76). The Neo-Byzantine theory and the *makam* system share considerable similarities despite the fact that one is based on vocal and the other on instrumental practice. Scholars have divided the process of the Byzantine musical development in different ways. Western musicologists in particular have tended to use the term "Byzantine" to refer to the period up to the 15th century, "Neo-Byzantine" for the period between the 15th and 18th centuries and "Neo-Greek" or "Chrysanthine" for the reforms of the early 19th century. The Byzantine periods are also sometimes divided into *Classical*, which covers the period from the 9th to the 15th century, and *Neo-Byzantine*, from the 15th century to the present day. There is another division to cover the main Byzantine periods: the *Early*—developments made before the foundation of Constantinople c. 330 AD; the *Medieval*—after the founding of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire up to the 13th century; the *Late*—between the 13th and 15th centuries with Koukouzel as one of its prominent representatives; and the *Post-Byzantine*—after the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. The Byzantine Chanting tradition is closely connected with modal musical systems and in the case of "Neo-Greek" or "Chrysanthine" Chant is based on Modern Greek music theory ("Great Theoretical Treatise on Music", Chrysanthos, 1832). This system is built upon the diatonic modes and also on modes with microtonal intervals (quarter tones or bigger). Even when comparing the classical Byzantine with Neo-Byzantine chants, there are dissimilarities in their modal systems; the former, apart from being less ornamented and embellished, is diatonic, based on the Oktoechos, and the latter (the singing currently used in the Orthodox Church) is of a slightly "Middle Eastern" inclination, which took shape as a result of Ottoman/Turkish influence. That is why in Neo-Byzantine chanting (with ison), microtonic intervals and augmented seconds (non-diatonic or "chromatic") are often regarded as late developments under Ottoman influence. However, some modern Greek scholars contest this theory stressing that "the introduction of chromaticism is not a post-Byzantine development, originating in a period of Ottoman influence" (Makris 2005, 1).[3]

Byzantine Notation (Neumes) and the Ison

The Byzantine chant was a purely vocal music, without any instrumental accompaniment and was originally monodic, that is, non-harmonized. Its style consisted of melody alone, in free rhythm and often attempted to depict melodically the meaning of the words. The different religions embraced by the Byzantine Empire built almost all their services around a sounded repetition of sacred texts and sung in Greek. This is how Dimitri Conomos describes the role of the text: "The holy words could be heard, mouthed and absorbed by all. And for such 'sounded repetition', singing has seemed more natural than speaking … The rhythm of song—even when it is a comparatively free rhythm—keeps everyone together and allows for audibility and the melody of the song helps people to remember the words".[4] An elementary notation, called *neumes* (from the Greek word *neuma*, meaning "nod" or "sign"), was devised by using dots, strokes, curves and accents written above the text but with no indication of rhythm or pitch at first.[5] Wellesz explains that "since the Byzantine neumes originated in the prosodic signs, their shape imitates, more or less, the movements of the melody produced by the human voice, and, consequently, the movements of the hand of the conducting precentor" (Wellesz 1949, 234).

It has been suggested that the sign of the iso(n) appears in some ancient Egyptian depictions of musicians; "It must be admitted that the sign for the 'Grundton' [fundamental tone] and the Byzantine *ison* are strikingly similar. Whether the meaning of the sign remained fixed from the time of the fourth dynasty (2723–2563 B.C.) until the Fifteenth century is, however, another question" (Moran 1986, 45).

Neumes derived from the *ekphonetic* notation or symbols of the Palaeo-Byzantine period (between the 9th and 14th centuries) served to remind a singer of a melody he already knew. "After c. 850, there began the tendency to elaborate and to ornament, and this produced a radically new, melismatic, and ultimately *kalophonic* (highly embellished or 'beautified') style. Fully diastematic Byzantine notation, which can be readily converted into the modern system, surfaces in the last quarter of the 12th century. Currently known as 'Round' or 'Middle' Byzantine notation, it differs decisively from earlier forms (Palaeobyzantine notation)" (Conomos 1984, 30). By the 12th century, the *neumes* evolved to a point where they represented specific notes and even directed the manner of singing. From this time to the mid-15th century, a staffless notation was in use that indicated the *echos,* the starting note, and subsequent intervals of a melody. It is largely decipherable today. Signs were added to it in the

centuries that followed; one of them was the *ison*, the sign for the repetition of a note. As Wellesz points out, the interval signs are divided into two groups: Somata (bodies) and Pneumata (spirits), and that the Somata move in steps, the Pneumata in leaps. "Since [the Ison] is neither a step nor a leap, it is neither a Soma nor a Pneuma" (Wellesz 1949, 233). Then he continues:

> The ison occupies a special position. It is considered the most important sign because, in Byzantine Church music as in Gregorian Chant, the repetition of the tenor, the tone of recitation, plays an important part in the structure of the melodies. It is the most humble sign, because it indicates that the melodic line is static, and because it subordinates itself to the Pneumata. But it is also the king, because it is the beginning and the foundation not merely of the notation but of the melody itself. For the Ison is, in fact, the opening of the mouth in order to sing a melody, a Sticheron, or a Hirmus. It is therefore the beginning of all song, but it is also the end, because all songs close with the Ison (Wellesz 1949, 237).

J. B. Thibaut gave the following names to the three phases of neumatic notation: Notation Constantinopolitaine (11th century); Notation Hagiopolite (13th century); Notation de Koukouzélès (13th century). "By this division Thibaut intended to emphasize his theory that the first phase originated in Constantinople, the second in Jerusalem, and that the last, according to the view of Neo-Greek theorists, was invented by Koukouzeles" (Wellesz 1971, 261). Wellesz himself proposed a scheme which was based exclusively on the dates of the three main phases and divide the development of Byzantine neumes into the following three groups: (1) "Early Byzantine notation (paleobyzantine, 'Stroke-dot' or linear notation), 9th–12th century; (2) Middle Byzantine notation (hagiopolite, round), 12th–14th century; (3) Late Byzantine notation (Koukouzelean, hagiopolite-psaltique), 14th–19th century" (Wellesz 1971, 262).

Based on his research into Byzantine music, Miloš Velimirović also distinguishes several stages in the evolution of its neumatic notation: *Palaeo-Byzantine* notation in use from around the 10th to 12th century; *Middle-Byzantine* notation in use from the second half of the 12th to the 15th century; *Late-Byzantine* notation in use from around the 15th century to the advent of the so-called Chrysanthine reform, executed and formulated during the first two decades of the 19th century. "Late-Byzantine notation is found in manuscripts that were copied after the downfall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 and during the period of the Turkish domination of the Balkans" (Velimirović 1971, 4).

The Eight Tones (Oktoechos/ Ὀκτώηχος)

Byzantine psalmody and hymnody are based upon an eight-tone system, referred to as the Oktoechos, eight *echoi*.[6] The Greek term "echos" (ηχος) literally means a *tone*. The Oktoechos is traditionally attributed to John Damascene (Damascus) who codified it as a system. Damascene's theological writings, which date from the first half of the 8th century, were used as a basis for the religious music of the synagogue and the secular music of the Syrians and the Greeks. The melodies of the hymns based on the Oktoechos/Eight Tones are divided into eight groups or *echoi* (ηχοι): four "authentic" (higher-range) and four "plagal" (lower-range) tones; the latter are related to the authentic tones. One way to identifying the Echoi is to number them (giving ciphers) One through Eight, and the other to call them (this is the Greek pattern) First Tone, Second Tone, Third Tone, Fourth Tone, Plagal First Tone, Plagal Second Tone, Grave Tone, and Plagal Fourth Tone. A survey on Byzantine names of the Oktoechos and their correspondence to the Latin modes, given by Western medieval theorists, is mainly based on Wellesz's table, with some additional information on the Initial notes and the Finalis (specified only in the Latin script; Wellesz 1971, 300).

The hymns based on this system were transmitted orally from one generation to another; however, the systems of notation developed over the centuries were standardized in the early 19th century as Byzantine neumes and symbols. Oktoechos are essentially monophonic music and harmonized only by the *isokratima* (drone). While in the West the modality of the tonal system was predominantly associated with a certain scale, the Eastern type of modality was not represented only as a scalar succession of pitches, but as a melody type or a motivic group, forming what was called an *echos* in Byzantine music. The idea that there was an equal relationship between Byzantine *Oktoechoi* and their melody types was considered further by Egon Wellesz:

Byzantine Modes		**Gregorian Modes**	**Initial Notes**	**Finalis**
First Authentic	*Echos* I ἦχος α'	I. Dorius	*a'*	*d'* or *a'*
Second Authentic	*Echos* II ἦχος β'	III. Phrygius	*b'* or *g'*	*e'* or *b'*
Third Authentic	*Echos* III ἦχος γ'	V. Lydius	*c''* or *a'*	*f'* or *c''*
Fourth Authentic	*Echos* IV ἦχος δ'	VII. Mixolydius	*d''* or *g'*	*g'* or *d''*
First Plagal	*Echos* I ἦχος πλ. α'	II. Hypodorius	*d'* or *g'*	*d'*
Second Plagal	*Echos* II ἦχος πλ. β'	IV. Hypophrygius	*e'* or *g'*	*e'*
Third Pl. (Barys)	*Echos* III ἦχος βαρής	VI. Hypolydius	*f'* or *a'*	*f'*
Fourth Plagal	*Echos* IV ἦχος πλ. δ'	VIII. Hypomixolydius	*g'*, *a'*, or *c''*	*g'*

> Echoi of Byzantine music should be thought of not merely as scales in the modern sense, but as groups of melodies of a certain type, built upon a number of basic formulae that characterize the Echos (Wellesz 1949, 250). The mode, we may therefore conclude, is not merely a "scale" but the sum of all the formulae which constitute the quality of an Echos. This definition is in conformity with that given by Chrysanthus of Madytos in his Great Musical Theory (1832): "Echos is the scheme of the melody, arranged according to the practice of the expert musician, who knows which tones should be omitted, which chosen, on which one should begin and on which one should end (Wellesz 1949, 270).

The formulae, which constitute the quality of an echos, came into existence because of constant repetition so that, in the course of time, they became crystallized into fixed melodic patterns. A pattern is assigned to only one particular mode. However, there are cases where several modes are employed in the chanting of a particular hymn. Of this tradition, many of the old Byzantine melodies have survived, though often with considerable modifications, including the use of hard chromatics and the employment of the *ison*. Towards the end of the first millennium, the Roman Church found itself heavily influenced by the Eastern Church; consequently there are similarities between Byzantine Tones (Chant) and the classical "church modes", Old Roman chant, such as modal, cadential, and ornamental formulas.[7]

The denominations of the genera used in the Byzantine ecclesiastical music are: *diatonic, enharmonic* and *chromatic,* the latter is subdivided into *soft chromatic* and *hard chromatic*.[8] Sometimes instead of the entire scale, a part of it is used, a *trichord*, *tetrachord* or a *pentachord*. Byzantine music theory does not distinguish between major and minor scales as in Western music. Being inspired by the syllables of Western solfège, the Neo-Byzantine reformers of the early 19th century created specific notes, as in the Western natural scale, where the degrees were designated based on the first seven letters of the Greek alphabet. The departing (root) note is the tonic of the First Tone/Mode (the Western D): pA (*p*–alpha), Bou (*vou*–beta), Ga (*ga*–gamma), Di (*di*–delta), cE (*ke*–epsilon), Zw (*zo*–zita), nH (*ni*–ita). Microtonal intervals are incorporated in some "in-between" notes (different from Western scale steps), however, only a general, simplified, picture is given here of their defining characteristics as part of an important component of a Byzantine mode.

Some Historical Facts about the Arbëresh Byzantine Musical Liturgy and the Scholars who Dealt with It

The Arbëresh, the descendants of the Albanians, not only maintained their native language and customs up to the 21st century, but also their Byzantine Rite, though in other respects they have been absorbed in the Italian population. According to Girolamo Garofalo, "Arbëresh is the most important and largest linguistic ethnic 'minority' in Sicily … Studying Sicilian Albanian musical repertories is interesting not only from an ethno-musicological standpoint, but also for their Byzantine, anthropological, linguistic, Albanian, historical and liturgical aspects" (Garofalo 2004, 271 & 272). The liturgical chants that the Arbëresh populations brought with them mainly from South Albania and Greece to South Italy and Sicily constitute direct evidence of an oral process in the transmission. That part of Byzantine musical tradition, which existed before the Ottoman invasion in the Southwest Balkans, survived in better conditions among the Arbëresh communities.[9]

In the early centuries of the Christian era the populations of the Byzantine tradition of South Italy and Sicily were included in the Roman Patriarchate and a gradual but incomplete process of Latinization began. During the 8th century, the Byzantine Emperor Leo III removed the region from papal jurisdiction and placed it within the Patriarchate of Constantinople. There followed a strong revival of the Byzantine tradition in the area. Nevertheless, the Norman Conquest in the early 11th century resulted in its return to the Latin Patriarchate. By this time, the local Byzantine Church was flourishing, and there were hundreds of monasteries along the coasts of Southern Italy. The Normans, however, discouraged Byzantine usages in their lands, and Latin ones replaced the Greek bishops. This marked the beginning of a process, which led to the almost complete absorption of the Byzantine liturgy into the Latin Church. This decline was reversed in the 15th century with the arrival of two large groups of Albanian immigrants, Arbëresh, who immigrated en masse into Southern Italy after the Turkish occupation of the Balkans, and established and formed powerful communities.

The liturgical chants that the Arbëresh populations brought with them from South Albania and Greece to South Italy and Sicily were transmitted orally, a process which unavoidably had its effects of change and adaptation. That part of Byzantine musical tradition, which existed before the Ottoman invasion in the west Balkans, South Albania and north Epirus, was transplanted and survived in better conditions among the Arbëresh communities. When the iso question among the Albanian musicologists is

discussed, the comparison is often made with the music of the Arbëresh of Italy. This is because while Albania was occupied by the Ottoman Empire and its music was gradually changed towards a more Middle Eastern inclination, the Albanians who immigrated to Italy, i.e. the Arbëresh, retained scrupulously their traditional and liturgical music as a sign of their identity and unique culture. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 Byzantine scholars and priests also fled to Italy and Sicily, taking with them their manuscripts and preserving them throughout the centuries.

The Church of the Byzantine rite of South Italy presents quite unique characteristics; on the one hand, it recognizes the authority of the Roman Church, while on the other hand, it preserves all the aspects of the Oriental Church with which it never had rapture. The history of the Byzantine Church can be divided into two stages: the first, Greek-Italian, and the second, Albanian-Italian. The Greek-Italian phase lasted until the end of the first millennium and the Albanian-Italian started at the beginning of the 15th century continuing to the present day. The Oriental musical liturgy that the Albanian refugees practised in Italy (which belongs to the period of Koukouzel's reform at the beginning of the 14th century), was sung by its priests and the believers in Greek. Later on with the presence of the Ottomans in Constantinople, Byzantine music started gradually to be influenced by mainly Turkish music.

The foundation of the Greek College in Rome in 1576 reinforced the Byzantine presence in Italy. However, the Greek College was incapable of satisfying the needs of the Arbëresh clerics; the liturgical tradition continued to exist, above all, thanks to the perseverance of the population that at the same time continued to maintain the language and customs, and of the frequent contacts with the Orient, as proved by the presence of Oriental clerics in many Arbëresh Parish churches. Only a century and a half later, as a result of the strong persistence of the population, two colleges for the preparation of Byzantine clerics in the Arbëresh areas were founded: in S. Benedetto Ullano, Calabria, in 1732, and in Palermo, in 1734. The establishment of these two colleges represent an essential stage for the proceedings of the Byzantine Rite in Italy: in order to continue to belong to the jurisdiction of the Latin Bishops, they would develop a catalytic function by collecting and strengthening the Oriental liturgical tradition. The oral liturgical chant came to be systematically practised and distributed in the Arbëresh places of Sicily, Calabria and Basilicata. The two distinguished traditions of the liturgical chant, the Sicilian and Calabrian, emerged. Meanwhile, the requests of the Arbëresh for a religious autonomy became more and more assertive. A radical change occurred only in 1919 when Pope Benedetto XV set up the

Eparchy of Lungro. Consecutively, in 1937, Pope Pio XI set up the Eparchy of Piana degli Albanesi and elevated it to the Abbacy level. The two Eparchies and a Seminary, under the control of the Holy See, formed a very efficient instrument to end the institutional tutelage of the Oriental Rite. In fact, the new clerics coming from the seminary of Grottaferrata and from the Greek College in Rome, were educated by the canons (church laws) of modern Byzantine music (after Chrisanthos' reform of the 19th century), which gradually replaced the traditional liturgy learned in both historic colleges and which still existed in various churches.

A successive step in supporting worship was made in 1968; in order to make the understanding of the text of the liturgy easier, it was decreed that the use of the Albanian language should be substituted (although not completely) for the Greek language. At the present time the liturgy is sung in Albanian and Italian as well as the traditional Greek. Scaldaferri's view is that "this obviously will provoke the abandoning of even the most recent forms of the modern Byzantine chant in Greek. The most problematic situation encountered today", according to him, "is in the Eparchy of Lungro where the very old liturgy has been completely substituted with a liturgy in Albanian and with music adapted from the modern Byzantine chant" (Scaldaferri 2000, 294). On the same language issue, Garofalo writes that "until a few decades ago songs were sung only in Greek. Different translations into Italian and Albanian were used only recently. Believers (who generally do not know Greek) usually read editions in Greek transliterated into Roman type with parallel translation into Italian" (Garofalo 2004, 276).

Nowadays in Sicily, the Byzantine church keeps alive the traditional chant in Greek; this is thanks to scholars and the chant practitioners who signalled its uniqueness and raised the issue of its cultural and devotional importance in Greek. Alongside the dioceses of Lungro (in Calabria) and Piana degli Albanesi (in Sicily) is the monastery of Santa Maria di Grottaferrata, just a few miles from Rome. It was founded in the 11th century, and thus not related to the much later Albanian immigration, but rather to the remnants of Byzantine Catholicism in Italy. It is actually the only remnant of the once-flourishing Italo-Greek monastic tradition. In 1937 the monastery was given the status of a territorial abbey. It is, in spite of its different historic roots, now considered a part of the Italo-Albanian Church. The confusion in the past between the Greeks and the Arbëresh was quite common; this generated from the use of the Greek language in the liturgical celebration of the Arbëresh and it became stronger because of the ecclesiastical documents, which for centuries continued to speak always and only about "the Greeks".

Ugo Gaisser (1853–1919), the former director of the Greek College *S. Anastasio* in Rome, was deeply involved in studying and transcribing the songs of the Arbëresh community in the first decade of the 20th century. Publishing an article in 1905, he was probably the first to assume that in these "popular" songs the key to the door of the ancient Greek music mystery was hidden. Gaisser asserts that "the Neo-Byzantine melodies are almost the same as those found in Sicily and Calabria, however, modified in favour of adopting the interval of augmented second, that of the Byzantine Second Plagal Tone". Then, discussing the possibility of restoration of ancient tunes Gaisser concludes: "In the transmission of these melodies the success will depend mainly on the most commonly used criteria, distinguishing true heritage from corruption that has occurred with the passage of time. What would be a better criterion than local traditions of the places which remained free from the harmful influences, such as those of the Albanian colonies in Italy?" (Gaisser 1905, 111–12).

Lorenzo Tardo (1883–1967) an Arbëresh monk from Contessa Entellina and founder of the *Scuola Melurgica* of the *Badia Greca* in his survey *L'Antica melurgia bizantina* dedicated a long chapter to the Italo-Albanian chants titled "The Liturgical Byzantine Chants of the Greco-Albanian colonies of Italy" (Tardo 1938, 110–129). Oliver Strunk states: "On reading the name of Lorenzo Tardo … one thinks involuntarily of his role as pioneer in the practical revival of medieval Byzantine chant and of his enormously useful publications—his *L'Antica melurgia bizantina* (1938), his *Hirmologium Cryptense* (1950), and his series of studies on the manuscripts of Byzantine music in Italian libraries" (Strunk 1977, 255). In Tardo's above mentioned chapter, the first migrations of the Albanians to Southern Italy dated from 1450, followed by those of 1600 are examined. Tardo mentions that the chants were transmitted by avoiding *foreign infiltrations*. He observes: "A Western ear that for the first time catches these chants becomes amazed by the freshness of these clearly Byzantine melodies, by the richness of their embellishments … by certain chromatics which are unknown to modern scales … which are of an extreme finesse of expression" (Tardo 1938, 112). He also mentions "certain interferences" between notes that do not produce either a tone or a semitone, but obviously a quarter-tone. Then Tardo affirms that this is an indication of the antiquity and genuineness of the songs and that these characteristics make the Greco-Albanian melodies precious for the study of reconstruction of the Byzantine melurgia. Asserting that all eight Tones are represented in Arbëresh Byzantine chants, Tardo also points out that in this traditional living repertory it is apparent that the Oktoechos are of the same scholastic origin as the scales in use in Greece. There are traditional

melodies in Greece, orally preserved among the people; however, the majority of the patrimony began to be published at the beginning of the 19th century. "The melodies of the Italo-Greek, Albanian colonies, although they are, of course, less in number, possess a great artistic value. A scholar, apart from recognizing in them an inherent original beauty, finds a great homogeneity with regard to the tonality" (Tardo 1938, 114).

Kenneth Levy reveals that "popular, orally-transmitted traditions of liturgical chants have scarcely been studied. Pioneering contributions by Lorenzo Tardo dealing with the Italo-Albanian traditions are to be supplemented by an important publication by Bartolomeo Di Salvo on the Sicilian branch of the tradition".[10] Di Salvo discusses the musical legacy of the Albanian colonies in Sicily around the mid-15th century (the period when these colonies were established, after the invasion of Albania by the Ottoman Turks), which consisted of the ancient traditional repertory "before Koukouzeles, with the addition of the new compositions of the *Maistores*" (Di Salvo 1952, 129).

Francesco Falsone has written a book of 342 pages on the ecclesiastical songs of the Greeks and Albanians of Sicily. Nearly the first hundred pages are dedicated to the study of these songs and the rest covers notated songs. He examines the ancient Greek classical culture and assumes that many common traits of the same culture belong also to Epiriot/Albanians. He tries to identify the Greek and Albanian songs of Sicily with those of the Greeks of the pre-Christian classical period. Falsone stresses that "the real followers of the ancient Greek music are today the Sicilian Albanians and not the modern Greeks" (Falsone 1936, 54–55). Di Salvo believes that this assessment is a little exaggerated. Tardo too has the same opinion as Di Salvo (Tardo 1938, XV). Giuseppe Ferrari in his *L'Albania e la musica liturgica bizantina* has given an account of the notable contribution of the Albanians living in Southern Italy in the development of the musical religious art of the Byzantine world. He eagerly asserts that, in Byzantine history, it is not difficult to meet personalities of great prominence who bear Albanian surnames, even if nothing is known about their origin, or it is simply said that they were of Illyrian derivation. The liturgical music is a field in which Albania seems to have given quite a significant contribution to the inheritance of the Byzantine Church (Ferrari 1978, 15).

Girolamo Garofalo, Chief Research Fellow of Ethnomusicology at the Palermo University Faculty of Letters, who is not an Arbëresh but a Sicilian, has dedicated a great deal of effort in studying Arbëresh ecclesiastical music. Recently he has collaborated with the University of Copenhagen (for the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*) on a posthumous edition of the collection *Ecclesiastical Songs of the Italian-Albanian*

Tradition of Sicily by Bartolomeo di Salvo. Constructive information on the history of oral tradition of liturgical and polyphonic music of the Arbëresh presented here is drawn from Nicola Scaldaferri's article "Paths between Orality and Writing in the Byzantine Liturgical Tradition in Southern Italy" (Scaldaferri 2000, 291–310) as well as from his other book "The Arbëresh Polyphony in Basilicata" (2005).

Notes

[1] The nomenclature is based on the first seven letters of the Greek alphabet (*pa*–alpha, *vou*–beta, *ga*–gamma, *di*–delta, *ke*–epsilon, *zo*–zita, *ni*–ita).

[2] Chrysanthos prepared most of his work in Elbasan (Albania) and then introduced it in a simplified version which was widely disseminated and is used in all Greek Orthodox liturgical music books. According to Dhimitër Beduli, "the Vuçani family in Tiranë possessed a manuscript, which dates the year 1818, the exact time when the Archbishop Chrysanthos was working in his base, Elbasan, on the simplification of the Byzantine music" (Beduli, 2006, 17).

[3] Eustathios Macris, "The Chromatic Scales of the Deuteros Modes in Theory and Practice", in *Plain Song and Medieval Music*, Cambridge University Press, 14, 1, 1–10 © 2005. This article is based on a paper presented at the Eleventh Meeting of the Study Group Cantus Planus (Leuven, 2002).

[4] A lecture originally given at the St. Sergius Orthodox Institute, Paris, in 1997. Published on Monachos.net, February 2003.

[5] The notation used in the Greek Church today was devised in the 19th century, because of the confusion in deciphering the manuscripts of early Byzantine music.

[6] Sometimes the *tones* are also called modes.

[7] The classical "church modes", Old Roman chant, refer to a theory of classical music and are used to explain Gregorian chant, the counterpart to Byzantine chant.

[8] The term "chromatic", in the Greek context, denotes and contains the interval of the augmented second in the framework of the tetrachord (the fourth), but also may refer to an augmented second of the "HÍCAZ-type".

[9] "By far the largest external settlements of Albanians, however, are those of similar origin in Sicily and southern Italy. They took place in 1444, 1464, and 1468, but, under Ottoman pressure, were reinforced at intervals during the next three centuries. The inhabitants are of southern Tosk-speaking descent, and were allowed to retain their language and, under papal license, their Orthodox worship. In 1910 there were still seven Albanian communes (pop. 52,141) in Sicily and seventy-two (pop. 154,674) in Italy. In 1921 there were about 80,000 settlers who still spoke Albanian" (*Albania* 1945, 182).

[10] Kenneth Levy, "Music of the Byzantine Rite", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, §16: Byzantium and the west, p. 561; see Lorenzo Tardo, "L'antica melurgia bizantina", Grottaferrata, 1938; see also Bartolomeo Vito Di Salvo, "La tradizione musicale bizantina delle Colonie italoalbanesi di Sicilia e

quella manoscritta dei codici antichi", in *Bolletini della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, N.S. VI 1952.

PART II:

ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL LEGACIES: TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND REGIONAL CIVILISATION

The Early Growth of IMUS

> The North Epirote songs are an exceptional phenomenon within the Greek repertoire in that they feature this strange polyphony, this triphony to be precise, which is a characteristic of the men's songs from the Cham people recorded by Mr and Mrs Stockmann. We can therefore be certain that the above actually originated from Albania and were adopted by the Greeks, given that both peoples had lived for long periods in close cultural symbiosis. Having established the Albanian origin of this rhythmic type of Epirote songs we will naturally assume a similar infiltration in the case of the 5/8 rhythm of Peloponnesian dances. It is said, in fact, that at a certain period, at the end of the 14th century in particular, significant Albanian settlements came to populate the Peloponnesus. Compared with the refugee songs of North Epirus, those of Peloponnesus testify assimilation of the local repertoire: the pentatonism was superseded by heptatonism and the tyrant of the Greek song, the iambic verse of fifteen-syllables, replaced the eight-syllable with the seven-syllable trochaic verse … We believe we have demonstrated that, based on its structure, this song is, in fact, alien to Greece, despite that during the centuries it was progressively and perfectly Hellenised.
>
> —Baud-Bovy 1972, 158 and 161, Geneva, July 1972

Our discussion so far has concentrated on the historical development of the iso(n) as found in the oral traditions of the IMUS and Byzantine ecclesiastical music. It has been argued that the drone found in the Southwest Balkans has strong Eastern overtones and that**,** as Anthony Baines has stated, it "probably became established during the early growth of musical systems in Western Asia, though there is no strong evidence for it before Hellenistic times" (Baines, Grove Music Online). The most widely accepted account of the development of the iso(n) is the "Eastern Theory" and is mainly concerned with the ison in Byzantine chant. Our

knowledge of the ison's history comes largely from surviving music manuscripts that provide a relatively good guide to how and when it began to be transcribed. The oral tradition of the IMUS of the Southwest Balkans, which includes mainly Albanians, as well as a smaller number of Aromanian/Vlachs and Greeks, has a self-contained regional style and has preserved its archaic forms of practice up to the present day.

The iso(n), as a sustained tone component to the chant/song, has evolved and become integrated into both Byzantine monody and the Southwest Balkan oral traditions of multipart pentatonic singing. In both the secular-multipart and liturgical singing of the Southwest Balkans the iso(n) shares a common function as a sustained final in relation to the melody. Such commonality may suggest that the integration and then consolidation of the iso(n) into these two traditions occurred in roughly the same Late Medieval Period. That the use of the drone in both forms of unaccompanied singing may have existed prior to this period should not be entirely ruled out, however, further investigation is needed as there are no surviving written records which support this.

In their earliest forms these two traditions—Southwest Balkan traditional multipart singing and Byzantine monodic singing—show no use of the iso(n) in their musical structure. With regard to the Byzantine chant there is no doubt that it began, and then developed over several centuries, as a monody. It was only with the introduction of the ison that it became an integral part of a large number of liturgical songs. The development and consolidation of the IMUS did not follow the same route. In the Southwest Balkans where this specific kind of IMUS was formed, the pentatonic element played a decisive role in the formation of a modal system within which multipart singing was nurtured. The melodic anhemitonic pentatonic nucleus produced the foundation, not only for multipart singing, but also for the single melodic line singing (monodic) found in the same region.

Although the traditional monodic songs of South Albania and northern Greece (Epirus) may have emerged from a monodic genus, they were shaped by their ability to contain within themselves layer upon layer of the individual parts (i.e., voices) of multipart singing. By technically simplifying the structure of this singing, researcher-singers have suggested that it might be possible to conduct trials showing that from a monodic linear tune (consisting of a single melodic line), other parts could be extracted such as the *taker* (Alb.—*marrës*), *answerer* (Alb.—*kthyes*) and the iso, in order to construct a multipart rendering of two, three and four voices. The reverse could also happen; a multipart song could be adapted

to a single monodic line, incorporating in the song's corpus "contrapuntal" layers of individual parts.

Southwest Balkan pentatonic singing, i.e. with the anhemitonic pentatonic modal structures, was originally characterised by that simplicity which typifies the archaic cultures, together with their use of smaller and larger intervals, and was not as intricate as it would later become. It has been suggested, as Katsanevaki states in her *Archaic Elements in the Vocal Musical Tradition of the Mountain Populations of Northern Greece* (see Chapter 6, *Pentatonicism*), that the hemitonic and anhemitonic pentatonic systems used in the Southwest Balkans could have shared a common polytheist base emanating from ancient Greek musical practices. However, it is my view that the enhancement of the form via the partitioning of a single anhemitonic pentatonic tune into two, three and four parts–in addition to the iso–was a long process that developed among the local people who defined and named the role of each part while mastering the singing in a quite complex form. The intervallic relationship of the two-, three- or four-parts produces a unique form of harmony "where each melodic line is governed by linear rather than harmonic principles" (Manuel 1989, 71). Oscillations between the iso and the major or minor seconds, sometimes in a form of microtonal intervals, create peculiar dissonances around the iso sound. Furthermore, in a vertical form each of the voice parts finds itself in a relationship with one or two other vertical lines in a cluster of often quite rough dissonances built upon the iso.

In multipart unaccompanied singing the drone/iso serves as a tonal basis over which two or three parts or soloists interact with each other. It is "a sign that [the singers] actually do enjoy 'being together', evoking in an extraordinarily effective way the charms of solidarity. The performance has in fact as much to do with ethical concerns as with aesthetic ones. For in this practice of strictly oral tradition, singing is a collective moral responsibility to work out a sound form in the close company of a select group of friends" (Lortat-Jacob, 2004). As a whole, IMUS preserves some very specific features: on the one hand it uses microtonal intervals (which are also extensively employed in Neo-Byzantine chant) and, on the other, pentatonic systems; on top of the above combinations the drone is added, which makes this type of singing quite complex and extrovert. The multipart songs *with iso* (in Albanian *me iso*, in Greek *ισοκράτημα και ισοκράτες*) constitute the basis of this category of vocal organization and the voices of the solo singers over the drone/iso, which are perceived in a horizontal rather than in a vertical modal relationship, tend to develop (in some cases more than others) independently of each other. The iso remains a constant reference sound.

The Southwest Balkan region evolved distinctive indigenous styles of its own that were clearly shaped by modal structures of a pentatonic spectrum of a relatively narrow range. Emerging out of the ancient trade routes that crossed this geographical fringe area, an iso/drone evolved alongside the multipart pentatonic singing structures, creating a more advanced musical architecture for this type of singing. The gradual IMUS formation belongs to a local Southwest Balkan process and its origins are regional rather than ethnic (although in some areas the development of the IMUS was associated with local ethnic traditions and customs). In studying the ancient populations of the Southwest Balkan area, particularly the links between the Illyrians, Macedonians and Epirotes, Hahn asked "What are the grounds of this ethnographical relationship?" His answer was that "it is based on the language, customs and common dress, thus, upon those things which constitute the national identity" (Hahn 1835 [repr. 2007], 296).

The information provided by ancient historians such as Thucydides and Strabo suggest a common language and a fair amount of integration between the "barbarian" populations in this area. Although the steady configuration of multipart singing and later the more complex IMUS both belong to the beginning of the second millennium AD their foundations can be found much further back; based as they are on common social ethics, regional perceptions and musical traditions preserved in the ex-Roman Epirus Vetus and Nova. It is an area—including Thessaly and, further afield, Thrace—where together with monodic and multipart singing, the anhemitonic and hemitonic pentatonic modes were also widely spread as relatively well-structured systems.

The oral traditions of the IMUS are identified with the local traditions of the indigenous populations and in places where archaic practices and customs have been preserved in communities with a strong link to the past and where the surrounding mountains have kept old traditions alive and outside influences at bay. The repertoire for the multipart unaccompanied singing existed throughout the Middle Ages and it has been suggested that the drone feature may have reached the folk music of the Balkans from the Indian subcontinent through the Byzantine and later Ottoman conquest of the peninsula. There was also a substantial contingent of Gypsy or Roma nomadic people moving from Asia Minor into Europe and entering the Balkans in the 14th century who brought with them their own tunes, modes and instruments as well as the notion of the instrumental drone. All this is instructive but it does not solve definitively the question of the origin of the drone in the Southwest Balkans.

Analysing the spread of the IMUS of the Southwest Balkans area I would locate its nucleus, as the focal point of the unaccompanied multipart singing, in the regions inhabited by the former Chaonian, Molossian and Thesprotian peoples, all of whom can be counted among the most famous tribes of Epirus. The IMUS epicentre seems to be located south of the Vjosa river in the area identified later by the Romans as Epirus Vetus, from where its waves widen in concentric circles in other directions, north and east (though somewhat less towards the south), where different ethnic populations used to live in mutual partnership. This is how Hahn described the topography of the dissemination of the main ethnic populations, Labs (Labëri) and Tosks (Toskëri), who practised the IMUS. "Toskëri is called a small region situated in the north-west of Tepelenë, above the northern bank of the lower Vjosë river. But, when the Albanian inhabitants of Gjirokastër, Zagori, Përmet and Dangëlli are asked for their name in order to distinguish them from the other South Albanians, they say, we are Tosks" (Hahn 1867 [repr. 2006], 30–31). As far as the Labëri region is concerned, Hahn believes that the inhabitants of the three areas, Vlorë, Himarë and Delvinë, say that "the name Labëri belongs only to Kurvelesh" (Hahn 1867 [repr. 2006], 31).

Although the following topography of Albania may not be entirely accurate, I am including a fragment of Leake's description passed on to him by one of the South Albanian tribal chiefs, Demir (Aga) Dosti.

> Demir gives me a very particular and undoubtedly accurate account of the general topography of Albania, and of the divisions of its tribes; of which the following is the substance: Rejecting the political chorography[1] which has arisen since the Turkish conquest, the only important divisions of the Albanians are four: the Ngeghe [Gegë], Toshke [Toskë], Liape [Labë] and Tjame [Cham, Çamë] … The Toshke extend northward from the frontier of Delvino to that of Pekin [Peqin] and Elbasan, bordering to the west upon the Liape [Labë], and possessing Gardhiki [Kardhiqi] Arghyrokastro, Libokhovo, Premedi [Përmeti], Dangli, Kolonia, Skrapari, Berat, Malakastra, Mizakia [Myzeqe], Avlona. The Liape inhabit the entire maritime country to the southward and the westward of the boundaries of the Toshke [Toskë], and as far south as Delvino, where begin the Tjame [Cham, Çamë], who occupy all the maritime country, as far as Suli inclusive and inland to the Greek districts of Pogoniani and Ioannina (Leake, 1835 [reprinted 1967], 61).

The Medieval and post-Medieval Culture in the Former Region of the ex-Roman Epiri Zone

The consolidation and perpetuation of feudal social and economic relationships in the ex-Roman Epiri zone tended to contribute to the development of unitary entities united by ethnic or cultural identity. Between the 7th and 12th centuries these ethnic and cultural identities would become distinctive, "entering a period of consolidation and crystallization of the Albanian ethnos" (Buda, 1986, 144).

The medieval culture of the Southwest Balkans was predominantly shaped by Byzantine culture and surviving liturgical texts are generally in Greek. These texts in the form of old Gospels (Codeces) are found in Berat; such is the *Codex Beratinus Φ* (*Beratinus Purpureum*) containing the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark, in uncial majuscules dating from the 6th century (Fig. 04), and *Beratinus 2* (*Aureus Anthimi*) from the 9th century, the latter being particularly interesting owing to its unique format of gold letters on purple parchment. The codices, written during "each century, from the 6th up to the 15th, with the exception of the 7th and 8th centuries … were reproduced in our country [Albania] and by our scholars" (Popa 2006, 63 & 69). The *Codex Beratinus Φ*, although it was written in Greek, is of mixed origins. *Les manuscripts grecs de Bérat d'Albanie* of the Belgian researcher Pierre Batiffol, published in Paris in 1886 (Rome 1885), is the best source of information on this Gospel.[2] Towards the end of the 19th century, Bishop Alexoudes of Berat also published new editions of the codices. With regard to the texts of *mixed origins*, such as those of the Syrian tradition together with the conflation of the Alexandrian lessons and the Western lessons, Battifol states: "The text F, with Syrian at its foundation (this is an indisputable point), has, in a great proportion, been affected by the pre-Syrian variants, either Western, which are of the most considerable, or non-Western" (Batiffol 1886, 33). On the same *conflate readings* issue, the historian Aleks Buda asserts: "As a preliminary analysis, it can be said that in the Codex *Purpureus* of Berat there are some text readings which are specific for this Gospel; different traditions, which are linked with the East, Syria and the West, have contributed to the formation of the text" (Buda 1972, 3). It should be pointed out that after its restoration in China in 1971 the Codex *Beratinus Φ* strengthened some "diacritical marks over the majuscules which certainly look like the signs of ekphonetic notation. However, they are so few and so widely dispersed that one could not say that these pages are actually notated. Furthermore, at first sight it looks very much as if a later, second hand has added these signs. I doubt very much that there were

ekphonetic signs in use in the 6th century" (Conomos, October 2007;[3] refer to Fig. 04A {original} & 04B {restored}). On the same subject seven years later Conomos would reiterate: "The signs on folio 45 [of the original] are not ekphoentic neumes but rather indications of breaks in the text (for the Reader) or umlauts to distinguish the vowels" (Conomos, February 2013).[4]

Another Codex, F. 488, D. 23 of Berat (archival reference: AQSh, F. 488, D. 23), containing the cryptogram and colophon, dates back to the year 1292 (Figures 05 and 06). Dimitri Conomos observed two folios of this Codex. He concluded that Number 05, folio 64 recto, "is the heading for the beginning of the hymns in the Barys {Βαρύς} Mode"[5] (Conomos, October 2007). He also observed that in folio 1–2 of the same Codex (Fig. 06) "there are sequences of heirmoi of First Mode (ἀκολουθία ἀναστάσιμος Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ. ἦχος α΄). So at first reading it appears to be a heirmologion" (Conomos, March 2014). "In the case of Codex 23 (1292) the neumes look like they belong to the music system before Koukouzel's reform. We should take into consideration that the scribe was copying an existing codex … and that the original version was obviously dated earlier than the year 1292" (Çunga, January 2014).[6]

Surviving icons and frescos also demonstrate a strong devotional strain in the Southwest Balkan ethnic populations, subject to Orthodoxy, and highlight the rich spiritual heritage which endured over several centuries. The typical style of these paintings can be identified by its gentle tones, the harmony of colours, refined details and the expressions of the holy faces. Following the fall of Constantinople certain artists who had produced such masterpieces joined the many that moved to the Italian coast, particularly to Apulia. One of the greatest names associated with icons was Onufri, a painter who worked in Berat and who was also in Venice in the 16th century. In his work there persist late Byzantine influences, accents of the school of Crete and typical gothic elements. A school of students formed around Onufri and several stunning works, paintings on wood, pages of beauty and splendour and of faith and history survive to this day and are preserved in the Museum Onufri in Berat. Fig. 07, "The Birth of Christ" is an icon by Onufri's son, Nikolla of the 16th century; Fig. 08, "St. Athanas of Alexandria", an icon by an unknown painter of the 14th century, source: St. George's Church in Boboshticë, Korçë; "The Last Supper", fresco by Onufri, source: Church of Saint Parashqevi in Valësh, Shpat, Elbasan, 1541 (refer to Fig. 09). It should be stressed that in the Albanian speaking areas of the Orthodox communities only Greek letters were written on icons (at least until the 1920s) since the Albanian language was not permitted for acts of worship. Consequently,

although the Albanians inherited a large number of icons, of all them were written in Greek, as the language of tradition.

As far as Byzantine culture is concerned, manuscripts of Byzantine texts and notations (neumes) can be found in most churches and monasteries in present day Albania's territories. There were several dozens of chanters and first chanters (Protopsaltis) who practised the singing inside the church and who tried to educate younger people with the principles of the Byzantine singing. Dhimitër Beduli[7] tells us that "when the chanter sang in church, in order to help with the singing he assembled around him a group of young children of school age, particularly those with a good developed ear. He chose one of the children, the best one, to recite and others to hold the ison, while he himself sung the tune, he got the others to accompany him at the cadences" (Beduli 2006, 15–16). Another way of learning the theory of Byzantine music was that of a compulsory teaching in the schools of the time. According to Beduli, among the many manuscripts preserved in the Albanian churches, "some sections of hymns composed by our [Albanian] Protopsaltis, with a shade of local character, were even richer and more beautiful than a traditional Byzantine tune" (Beduli 2006, 16). Beduli is specific about the dissemination of this kind of singing in lower Albania, he argues that:

> The diocese where the Byzantine music was learned and practised as music rather than as a chanting rite was the Gjirokastër Diocese … which had more monasteries than anything else. There were schools where the teaching of Byzantine music was obligatory … In monasteries there were scribers for the musical texts and many districts such as Lunxhëri, Rrëza, Pogoni, Zagori and others, were directly connected to Istanbul where the countrymen from these areas learned chanting and often the written music [neumes] (Beduli 2006, 18–19).

Being positioned at the centre, around which an array of ethnic cultural variations were displayed, the Episcopal Sees, like those of Kanina and Himara, were the best places where certain identities of those old Albanian dioceses could be determined and preserved.

Gjirokastër, one of the residences of the Eparchy of Ioannina, was located by Leake as follows; "The northern limit of the bishopric of Drynopólis, or Arghyrókastro, is the bridge of Tepeléni. To the eastward it comprehends Zagoriá, and borders upon the province of Korytzá" (Leake 1835, 48–49). Hahn wrote that "in earlier times, Gjirokastër was a kind of an aristocratic republic" (Hahn 2006 [1854], 79). Andromaqi Gjergji, based on Teki Selenica's data of 1923, mentions that the "greatest number of churches, 425, was to be found in the Gjirokastër area, as well as 36

monasteries, and the largest number of priests, 175, being in the town of Gjirokastër" (Gjergji 2002, 93).

Considering the location of "many Medieval manuscripts, such as Hagiographical codices in parchment and paper dated from the 9th up to the 15th centuries … and the very important part of the Byzantine art comprising visual arts, monumental painting, the iconography and mosaics" (Popa 2006, 13), it is possible to determine that in the region where the Byzantine Empire dominated, the practice of multipart singing and later the iso(n) became an identifying factor of the local culture.[8] Some musical patterns with a Byzantine nucleus, originating perhaps in Constantinople or on Mount Athos, interacted and intermingled with the traditional folk tunes and a reverse process may also have occurred – the penetration of some elements of the these tunes into the liturgical tradition. I could hear in South Albania, even in the year 2007, patterns and expressive devices which clearly suggest a relationship between traditional and liturgical music in which the former took a prominent role.

The Byzantine liturgical theory and singing were taught in the great centres of Byzantine music, but the secular multipart singing could not exist entirely separate from the communal activities associated with the paraliturgical devotional rituals and religious contextual repertoires. The oral tradition of the IMUS can be almost completely associated with the Byzantine zone which covered South Albania and northern Greece, including the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Although secular, the IMUS existed in the Byzantine world of the Southwest Balkans in the same way as other new traditions of urban music emerged several centuries later in the Albanian Ottoman world.[9] That way of life and cultural identity which existed in the Southwest Balkans in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries was and still is, to a certain degree, preserved in the Arbëresh communities of Sicily and Calabria.

"The rich patrimony" of Byzantine art in Albania is "conserved in three main fields: in mural or monumental painting, iconography and codices … Since no traces of secular art exist in the Albanian medieval painting, the ecclesiastical painting takes a special place thanks to its high artistic level" (Popa 2006, 79–80). Among the many churches and monasteries where the mural paintings are still to be seen, there were two cultural centres bearing the name of St. Mary, one in Selasfor or Deabol (Zvezdë) and the other in Ballsh. In the course of several archaeological discoveries "walls with painting fragments along with a palaeographical script of the 11th and 12th centuries were made" (Popa 2006, 82). For a broader presentation of this art see three more Figures: Fig. 10, a mural painting, "The Dancing of the Maidens", Jorgucat, Dropull, year 1617; Fig.

11, “John the Baptist”, an icon from Postenan, Ersekë, source: Monastery of St. Mary, year 1635, and Fig. 12, an Oktoechos as part of the Codex 87 of Elbasan from the 19th century.

Under the broad heading “Byzantine art” we can include a great variety of artistic forms associated through which an ecclesiastical stance is presented, not just the grand architecture of the churches and the vibrant murals but also the devotional music that was studied, composed and performed. However, just as this ecclesiastical tradition was being developed so parallel traditions, largely secular and para-liturgical, were growing in the rural and mountainous areas of the Southwest Balkans (within the ex-Roman Epiri borders). This musical tradition, the multipart unaccompanied singing (and also monodic types such as laments and lullabies), which was initially practised in a more basic form (without the use of the iso), gradually took shape as a more elaborated structure probably during the third period of Byzantine domination at the beginning of the 11th century. This is a period when despite the changes of administrations and ruling powers in the region, from the Bulgarians to the Byzantines, distinct ethnic populations, such as the Illyrian-Albanians, Epirots and Aromanians continued to lead a village-orientated pastoral life and preserved their identity almost intact. On the arrival of the Ottomans in the Balkans, the church life became less active and the construction of the Byzantine churches, monasteries and other places of worship were limited.

With the arrival of Ottoman invaders in the 15th century large groups of Albanians began to flee their country with many exchanging the threatened Orthodox South for the relative safety of Calabria and Sicily. These newly settled immigrant populations had been forced to abandon their lands to foreign invaders but they remained loyal to the custom and traditions of their Byzantine heritage. Over the course of the next five centuries these displaced populations witnessed the arrival and eventual integration of many new settlers into their communities, bringing with them their own distinct customs and practices. Nevertheless, in South Italy and Sicily they retained the essential elements of identity; the Albanian/Arbëresh language, the religion of the Greek Byzantine rite, the traditional costumes of the period and their traditional musical repertoires, both religious and profane. Today, after five centuries, the Arbëresh people still maintain the language, religion, icons and customs of the old country. There is much evidence to show that different kinds of music, liturgical, para-liturgical and the secular traditional music which were practiced on the soil of their origin in the Balkans, Albania, Epirus and Morea, have been preserved in their pre-Ottoman form.

With the gradual islamisation of a part of the Albanian population, new singing features typifying different ethnic and geographical zones of the Southwest Balkans begun to emerge. In fact, a process of a specific ethnic musical configuration had started before the Ottoman occupation, around the 11th and 12th centuries, that is long before the first period of the Despotate of Epirus (1267–1479). The ethnic variety led to the creation of different musical styles with increasingly regional characteristics and identities. That cultural legacy which the refugees took with them from their place of origin, South Albania and North Greece, and brought to the Italian and Sicilian lands, was progressively shaped into a new social, religious and cultural environment. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Adriatic, in the Southwest Balkans, the Albanian identity of traditional multipart singing became more prominent, particularly between the south of the Shkumbin and Kalamas rivers. Perhaps this is the theory of knowledge developed by Plato that in our lives we gain knowledge by recollecting what we already know in our souls (the lost identities of earlier times). This was a period when the Albanian tribes of the Southwest Balkans began to develop their own distinct ethnic consciousness. During the period that followed, between the 8th and 11th centuries, this was refined as part of the Illyrian and Epirotic populations merged into a new Albanian population.

Describing the ethnic groups of Albania in the 19th century, Hughes remarks: "In all these tribes there are certain shades of difference with regard to language and manners, that render it possible for a native to distinguish them from each other: but the principal traits of the Albanian character seem to have remained unaltered since the time of Alexius Comnenus, when they begin to be noticed by the historians" (Hughes 1820, 97).[10] It is thought that a notable Canon, that of Papa Zhuli, developed gradually over a long period of time, between the 11th to 13th centuries, during the Norman and Anjou Conquests of Albania.[11] This Canon was handed down orally from generation to generation and comprised juridical unwritten laws which were practised and respected by the South Albanian people. It appears that it was Papas Zhuli, a renowned priest of the Zhulat area near Gjirokastër, who codified and legitimised these laws.

> If we go to the south of Çamëri, in the mountainous area of Suli, [the people] speak about a Canon called the "Canon of Papa Zhuli". The Canon of the Suli mountainous region or that of Papa Zhuli was collected and published.[12] Also, if we go to the north of Çamëri, we will see that in the Labëri region another Canon operated here, which the local population called "Shorti [Shartet] (Canon) of Idriz Sulli". It is said that Papa Zhuli's Canon was practised here, but Idriz Sulli from Zhulat changed four of its

> important norms and as a consequence the other secondary norms which derived from the first also changed (Zojzi 1980, 101).

The new norms of the Canon reformed by Idriz Sulli in the 18th century had to co-exist, to a certain degree, with the political, cultural and legal forms followed by Islamic law or "sheriat", which was imposed on the Albanians by the Ottoman Turks. Despite the conversion of most Albanians to Islam during the Ottoman times, the basic norms of the Canon survived as phenomena of Paganism rather than Christianity. The aspects of cultural and social life of the South Albanians, the songs, dances, laments and folk costumes, as well as the new religion, which should not be left without consideration, obviously underwent constant variations and acquired newer and specific regional features; a process of elaboration and enrichment had therefore already started.

In Zojzi's discussion of the Canons of Papa Zhuli and Idriz Sulli, he stressed that both regions, Labëri and Çamëri, had put Papa Zhuli's name on the foundations of the Canon and many of the acts were identical to both Canons. This, Zojzi argues, poses an important question: "Was it the ethnic groups of the Labëri region who migrated toward the mountains of Suli or was it a reverse sense of movement that brought the Canon's laws with them?" (Zojzi 1980, 102). In my view the former is the more convincing explanation, the Albanians began spreading southward initially within their own ethnic territories and then further south into Greece. In Suli they were settled "in the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century" (Leake 1835, 234). It is also worth mentioning that Papa Zhuli's Canon did not operate in the east of the Labëri region, which is in Lunxheri, Zagori, Pogon, Dropull, Vurku and south-eastwards.

With the passage of time, the new stylistic shadings and variety of types of iso singing became more representative of various ethnic populations. The IMUS as a whole preserved its own idiomatic and structural characteristics, which made it distinguishable not only from other areas of the Balkans, but also as an identifying factor of its uniqueness: it was of an anhemitonic pentatonic spectrum and its inclination developed towards a stronger secular character. In his numerous publications, Lloyd, despite his audacious proposals, is inclined to make various hypotheses and persists that:

> Albania has developed part-singing to a far higher degree. Or should one say: has *preserved* it better? For it is possible, even probable, that at far beyond it, that have since dwindled or disappeared. Albanian country communities are more isolated and culturally more conservative than those of Bulgaria, say. …

> But is it not possible that both these types [two-part and three-part singing] may be survivals of an ancient (pre-Slav and pre-Bulgar) polyphony that was once in general use throughout the whole Illyrian territory, a polyphony whose forms have best survived in the areas of least change, such as south Albania and the remoter parts of Macedonia? This kind of polyphony does not seem to be a part of Slav heritage: northern Slavs do not have it, while southern Slavs share it with non-Slavic peoples such as Albanians and north Greeks (and Cretans?). An interesting task lies ahead: to map the geographical distribution of the various kinds of vocal drone-polyphony—or its instrumental versions, for that matter (Lloyd 1961, 145).[13]

As well as the development of language and religion, stylistic approaches in music were developed alongside the emerging consciousness of these populations. The iso itself also acquired various shapes and local configurations, but it may be said that it remained a unifying factor of the multipart traditions and styles of singing despite their inherent ethnic and geographical differences. Albanian scholars have identified two prominent and distinctive styles emerging out of this area; The Lab and the Tosk. It should be noted, however, that other less widely spread styles also emerged; Greeks and Aromanians, outside and inside the present borders of Albania, also practise IMUS and although the singing is related to the Tosk or Lab groups, it cannot be categorised as such, since the above designations belong only to the Albanian ethnic groups.

Having observed the existence of different theoretical and practical approaches to the IMUS regional classifications, I believe that for musicological purposes an alternative way of viewing regional divisions would be more suitable. Preferably the toponyms of rivers and city names (i.e., the Vjosa, Shkumbin and Kalamas rivers, or the towns of Gjirokastër and Përmet), rather than villages, which are of recent date and changeable settlement, should define the geographical boundaries of different ethnic regions since they seem to be more appropriate for delineating the musical zones. However, the studies of Hahn, Çabej, Valentini, Hammond, Zojzi and others on the division of ethnic zones and distribution of Albanian population, as well as other ethnic populations, in the Southwest Balkan area have been truly taken into consideration. From my observations, Hahn's and Çabej's approach seems to have dominated up to the present day. However, reading Hahn's work I have noticed that he, in turn, often referred to William Leake's reports of his travels in Northern Greece in 1805 and 1806 (Leake 1835). Since Leake is a primary source, I too have preferred to refer to his assessment on the division of ethnic zones and the distribution of populations in the ex-Roman Epiri (Vetus and Nova)

borders. This zone has a characteristic assemblage of many common features, such as musical dialects, customs and consciousness of ethnicity, and even the traditional dress, of the populations who practised the IMUS with its various modal pentatonic styles.

Notes

[1] In the 16th and 17th centuries chorography was a term used to refer to antiquarian studies of topography, place, community, history, memory.

[2] Codex *Beratinus Φ* is a companion to the Codex *Rossanensis*, discovered by Harnack and von Gebhardt at Rossano (Calabria) in 1879 and published by the latter at Leipzig in 1883. Both date from the same period, the Sixth or Seventh century.

[3] Conomos, personal communication, October 2007.

[4] Conomos, personal communication, February 2014.

[5] Conomos, personal communication, October 2007.

[6] Sokol Çunga, personal communication, January 2014.

[7] Dhimitër Beduli (1914–1996) was born in Skore, Pogoni district of the Gjirokastër region. He attended a gymnasium in Athens before studying and graduating in theology in Romania, where he was also specialised in Byzantine music.

[8] The area south of the Shkumbin river up to around the Kalamas (Thiamis) river in the south.

[9] See more on this subject in: "Albanian Urban Lyric Song in the 1930s" by Eno Koço. (Europea: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities, No. 2.) Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004.

[10] Alexius Comnenus, also Alexios Komnenos, 1048–1118, the founder of the Comnenus dynasty, was emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire at the time of the First Crusade. He was the subject of a biography by his learned daughter, Anna Comnena.

[11] The Anjou place names such as "Dukat", which comes from *Duke* and "Zhulat" from *Julius*, still exist in Labëria region since the Anjou conquest of Albania in the 13th century.

[12] See about "Kanuni i Papazhulit" in "The Kanina Castle and Other Writings" by Eqrem Bej Vlora, Koçi Publishers, Tirana 2004, p. 69.

[13] A. L. Lloyd, "Polifonia jonë popullore" (Our Traditional Polyphony) by Ramadan Sokoli, in *International Folk Music Journal*, Vol. 13, 1961, p. 145.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ISO-BASED MULTIPART UNACCOMPANIED SINGING (IMUS) STYLES

The highly characteristic IMUS styles of present-day areas of South Albania, North Epirus and parts of Macedonia, with their melodic iso(n) types and structures, distinct anhemitonic pentatonic modes, musical and poetic metres, traditions and dialects, vividly distinguish them from the monophonic and monodic styles of Central and North Albania as well as mainland regions of Greece such as east Macedonia, Thessaly and Thrace. Although an array of the essential elements contribute to the establishment of a given region's over-all music style, there are, nevertheless, several local musical idioms and vocal techniques such as ornamentation, use of microtonal intervals, free rhythmic patterns, falsetto register, staggered breathing, slides and imitation of the environmental bell-ringing of sheep. These are well defined as stylistic variations and can be identified with specific ethnic zones. The distinct sound of the IMUS echoes the local, regional and even external associations of complex modal idioms. It is generally accepted that the stylistic contrast of the IMUS consists not as much between the songs themselves of the same region, rather than between the songs of various regions where the dialectal characteristics and local expressive devices are more apparent.

The majority of notated examples given in this chapter are based on a variety of Albanian publications and have been transcribed by Albanian scholars. In order to cover a broad spectrum of the regional and ethnic singing styles I have included audio examples for each of the most distinctive IMUS styles; they are different from the notated examples and aim to illustrate performing aspects of the IMUS as well as to enhance the aural perception of the music based on the oral transmission of singing. The notated versions simply give a general skeleton and an approximate picture of the song. Transcriptions of this kind, given the limitations of our musical notation system, cannot truly represent the group performance since the conventional notation system does not fulfil all the demands of clearly conveying the rhythmic and stylistic freedom, intervals (microtones),

idiomatic nuances and other expressive devices. In particular, the development of the improvised contrapuntal voices, which is the distinguishing feature of the IMUS, is not fully conveyed. The most representative multipart songs contained in this book have been collected and examined according to their regional classification, group names and song titles (see *Explanation of Musical Examples*, and, the *Index of Notated and Recorded Songs in Order of the Examples* at the end of the book and the accompanying CD). As far as the liturgical chants and hymns are concerned, they are given only as audio examples and nearly all of them appear as extracts in the recordings.

The Lab IMUS Styles

According to Hahn and Valentini the terms Lab and Labëria have historically been associated with Arbër and Arbëria, which together with Shqipëria are other names for Albania. Arbëri, "in a narrow sense, is the name given by the Tosks to the mountain area behind Vlora, which, seemingly, in ancient times formed the core of ancient Chaonia. This mountainous area is Kurvelesh or Labëri and in a broader sense, this name comprises the Himarë (Acroceraunian) and Delvinë regions, therefore, the whole of Chaonia" (Hahn 1865 [2007], 311).

Known to the local people as "The Labs", this group:

> are spread between the three bridges: Drashovicë, Tepelenë and Kalasë … For geographical purposes the term *Labëri* was used to reflect a greater geographical unity rather than just the old ethnographical sense of this term; the various administrations had always relied on this configuration (displacement) made by the geography. Today, in literature, school texts, maps etc., the term Labëri implies the territory starting at the foot of Përmet and then stretching to Pogoni to the east, up to the Vjosë river at the Toskëri boundary, and Dropull and Vurku in the south up to the Çamëri frontier; however, the people do not recognise these regions as part of the Labëri nor their inhabitants as Labs (Zojzi 1962, 58).

According to the geographical definition, the Lab IMUS is found in Southwest Albania, in the region extending west of the river Vjosë and south to the river *Pavel*. The main concentration of Lab singing is in the regions of *Kurvelesh* and *Lumi i Vlorës* and in the prominent rural communities of Bënçë, Vranisht, Dukat, Tërbaç and Kuç. Due to its ethnic-Albanian musical roots, Himarë can also go with the rest of Labëri.

The Lab IMUS generally has a syllabic and rigid melodic structure supporting a heterophonic style and texture; the iso/drone group pronounces

the same text words as the leading singer in rhythm, however, without clearly articulated syllables. The rhythmic pulse and restricted improvisation are interwoven with dissonant harmonies and idiomatic embellishments. A distinctive characteristic difference between the Lab and the Tosk iso group is that while the former generally sings the text in a rhythmical and heterophonic form, the latter sustains the melody on a vowel "e". "There are two ways that the bourdon is developed in the three or four-parts of Lab polyphony: the chorus (*mbushësat* [fillers]), fully and rhythmically accentuate the verse line, the same way as the two or three solo singers. … Another more common way is when the bourdon/group using an unstressed rhythm only hums or mutters the words of the verse line" (Kruta 1991, 54–55).

In terms of their formal structure the Lab songs are distinguished from their IMUS neighbours by their short phrases, narrow range and a more recitative form of melodic formulae. The iso feature plays an organisational role rather than a participatory one, as in the Tosk, Cham and Myzeqe versions; it organizes the phrase and calculates the pause before the main tune starts again; it adds to the precise timing while allowing the first soloist (marrës) and second soloist (kthyes) to be clearly heard. The iso part requires several people to create more density in order to "hold" the singing, but the right balance has to be constantly checked in order to achieve the best resonance required. According to Kruta "the number of singers needed to hold the bordun does not have to be strict. This group of singers is usually comprised of more than two people (three, four or more); however, the possibility is obviously not excluded that the bordun may consist of just one singer" (Kruta 1991/2, 44).

Over the course of several centuries the Lab style has developed in various aesthetic aspects and, from my observations on this evolution, adapted its character by exchanging an earlier pastoral idiom for a newer, more epic feeling; from a sustained iso to a rhythmic and syllabic one; from a subtle holding iso to a dense and compact one; from a free musical metre to a more strict, rigid and pulsating one; from a relatively free structure to a solid one.

The "Tregon Gego Valideja" (Gego Valideja's Narration), Notated Example 1, is a Lab song from the village of Dukat. It is a typical example of this style characterised by its architectonic structure, which involves the strict division of four-bar phrases into short musical sections. The iso part, together with the second bouncing solo voice within the pentatonic spectrum, and the third solo voice which sings the same iso part but an octave higher, would start after the introduction of the *taker* ("marrës"), as an answering strophe. In this particular case the first phrase consists of an

eight-syllabic verse line and the second of a seven, in the same way as it was introduced by the solo phrase of the *taker* (the eighth syllable is either replaced by a quaver rest or is prolonged as a note value). The vocal range above the iso of the leading singer is only a fifth, but it is the second soloist who extends the range to a perfect fourth below the iso note. We find a bimodal harmony between the first and second voice parts (in tonal music it would be an interwoven blend of "D-major" and "B-minor") and peculiar dissonances around the iso sound. All vocal parts move as one in a heterophonic vertical form, rather than in a linear horizontal motion.

There is another Lab song, "Nëntëmbëdhjetë janari" (The Nineteenth of January), Notated Example 2, which shows a rigid rhythmic pattern reinforced by a binary metre, syllabic iso and limited variations in pitch and shade. It was collected and transcribed by Beniamin Kruta, although not in a complete form. Nevertheless, the characteristic features of the Lab song such as the pulsating rhythmic and melodic structures are clearly apparent.

"O ç'ma ke syrin-o" (Your Beautiful Eyes), Audio Example 1, a song from the village of Vezhdanisht near Vlorë, shows a different structure of Lab singing; not that of a pulsating rhythm and syllabic iso, but rather showing a lyrical and emotional nature which is closer to the Himarë and Gjirokastër style. However, it retains a typical Lab distinctiveness, characterised in this case by eerie harmonies of dissonant intervals with minor and major seconds clashes, as well as microtone intervals providing a background of pastoral sounds after which all vocal parts return to repose in an iso unison. A high degree of idiomatic nuances, fine shades of phrasing and an imaginative development of the improvised contrapuntal voices also distinguish Lab singing.

The Gjirokastër IMUS Styles

> With the expansion of the name Labëri to include a wider territory than previously defined, two groups of populations were created: the *Lab populations* and *Non-Lab populations*. The Lab population is divided into Christian Lab (at the foot of Tepelenë and Bregu i Detit) and Muslim Lab (the central block of the Lab population); the *non-Lab* population within Labëri is subdivided into: the Albanian population, in Lunxhëri, Malëshovë, Zagori and at the foot of Përmet, and the *non-Albanian* population, such as Dropull and Vurku (Zojzi 1962, 61).

The town of Gjirokastër is right at the centre of a geographical area surrounded by Lab and non-Lab populations; ethnic Albanians, ethnic Greeks and some ethnic Vlachs. It has its own urbane culture and singing

style and is also nourished by the impact of the Lab singing of the north-western part of Gjirokastër, as well as the singing of different ethnic groups (non-Lab) from other surrounding mountainous and lowland regions, such as Lunxhëri, Zagori, Odrie, Upper and Lower Dropull, and Pogoni (the latter two being Greek-speaking areas). I spoke to Bajo, a *marrës* soloist singer, from Lazarat,[1] and Panajot, an ethnic Greek of Albanian nationality; they both came to an agreement that "the region of Gjirokastër is a musical area which stands on its own and that their IMUS is probably closer to the Tosks rather than the Labs; Delvina, further south, is different and is closer to the Labs".[2]

The Gjirokastër IMUS is considered to be calm, horizontal and less rhythmic than "standard" Lab singing. "The nurturing of the rural songs surrounding Gjirokastër, from where the Gjirokastër urban songs originate, has grown together with the development of its inhabitants" (Tole 2001, 129). Being calm and less rhythmic in expression does not necessarily mean that it lacks weight and depth. On the contrary, these songs are known for their profound, elegiac and epic utterances. The third part (*hedhës*, thrower) plays a special role particularly in supporting the *marrës* (taker) "through a melodic variation of the same vocals and [by] taking charge of the melody when the *taker* is not singing" (Shetuni 2011, 47).

The Gjirokastër or "old men's" (*pleqërishte*) style of IMUS, differs from the "young men's" (*djemurishte*) style or "women's" (*grarishte*) style, and is sung with a strenuous tone showing a sustained and wordless iso; see "Këmb' o këmbë pse m'u pretë" (Why My Feet Got So Weak*)*, Notated Example 3. In discussing the Gjirokastër/old men's style, Shupo notes that "the fourth voice usually holds an ostinato pedal on the 3rd (pentatonic) degree" (Shupo 1997, 416). In other instances when the Gjirokastër singing is shared with the typical Lab form, a rhythmic or syllabic iso is sung to the text-words; see "Ku je rritur, je bër' kaqe" (Where Have You Grown Up So Much), Notated Example 4. It should be noted that the use of the interjected syllables and the rhythmic iso is an expression of a mutual relationship between the performance of the Gjirokastër IMUS styles and the Lab IMUS styles.

"Thëllëzë e Gjirokastrës" (Dainty of Gjirokastër), Audio Example 2, is a satirical song. Displaying much lyrical imagery, this song is sung by the men's group in a composed and serious manner. The singing style is characterised, on the one hand, by a continuous alteration of the voice parts above the iso and, on the other, by a modal density due to frequent changes of dissonant intervals around the iso tone. The first soloist part exposes and develops an expansive nature of melodic line and an intense expression of emotion; the second and third solo parts ("kthyes" and

"hedhës") are also very active in creating flexible and lively ornamentations as well as playing their role as contrapuntal voices. The contrasting section, the refrain, gives the song a rhythmic pulse of 3/8 musical metre, emphasizing the poetical iambic metre and maintaining the melodic architectonic structure into musical sections of the same length and the same shape. The strophe/refrain structure of the song is an innovative feature, perhaps dedicated to the song's *marrës* (taker), Arian Shehu, who seems to have inspired not only his men's group in the present recording, but also other IMUS groups around Gjirokastër.

The Lunxheri IMUS, which is included here in the overall Gjirokastër music styles, sounds slightly different from the Gjirokastër and Lab singing. The "hedhës" (the third solo part), for example, having a shorter text in comparison with that of the Lab, tends to employ a less bouncy rhythm and is not always active (present) as it is in the Lab and Gjirokastër singing.

Greek-speaking populations within Albania, particularly those who live in the area south of Gjirokastër, form a minority who are strongly linked through their domestic language, religious traditions and, to a certain degree, Greek consciousness. In the Pogoni area,[3] the language of daily use is Greek but the IMUS has striking similarities with that of the Lab and Gjirokastër styles sung in Albanian; see Notated Example 5, from Kosta Loli's transcription of the song "Ψες εχόρευαν εδώ", (Pses ehorevan edhó; Last Night They Danced Here).

The stylistic differences in IMUS found between various South Albanian ethnic populations, as well as the Greek and Vlach ethnic groups of South Albania and North Greece, are also explained by various demographic changes in the spreading of the Lab ethnic populations towards the south east. This had an influence on the development of IMUS features (see Çabej's explanation under the subtitle *The Cham (Çam) IMUS Styles*). Pogoni singing, however, differs from the Lab in tessitura and tone colour; the tessitura, in particular, is higher and gives the singing a strong lyrical character. Pogoni IMUS is better preserved and developed on the Albanian side of the border, whereas in Dhrimadhes and beyond, on the Greek side of the frontier, IMUS gradually vanishes. In Dropull (a Greek-speaking area) over the last twenty years or so, the penetration of the *saze* instrumental groups, which are by now also incorporated into the IMUS, has changed to a certain extent the more traditional practices of singing. The main change being the practice of not being accompanied by instruments; the doubling of human voices and their functions (*marrës*, *kthyes* and iso) with instruments acting in the same role have almost become the norm.

The Himarë IMUS Styles

Some of the people in the Himarë region prefer to be recognised as belonging to the *Bregu i Detit* (Coastline) region, however, due to the geographical affinities with the Lab people, their IMUS is quite similar to the Lab singing style, or it may be the other way round, with some specific stylistic differences. This is because "in the 15th and 16th centuries, Himarë incorporated the coastline up to Butrint as well as the present day Labëri. From later documents, it has been revealed that in the Himarë region villages were included such as Tepelenë, Kurvelesh, Kudhës, Smokthinë, Mesaplik, Dukat, Tragjas, Drashovicë, Lapardha etc. (over 50 villages) … Himara, in the first part of the 19th century, was only known to incorporate seven villages" (Elezi 2002, 15).

Three villages of the Himarë coastal region, including the Himarë centre itself, are bilingual, Albanian and Greek. The Himarë people nowadays sing in both languages, although the dialectal continuum suggests an uninterrupted flow of Albanian-speaking elements. The distinctive trait of the Himarë IMUS is its lyrical expression; the melodic layers of the solo voices are sonorous, smooth and wave-like, closer to the linear development of the Gjirokastër IMUS. The lyrical feature is perhaps the most distinctive mark between the Himarë and the Lab IMUS; the latter is characterised by its tone density and epic expression. The melody of the first soloist part (*marrës*) usually comprises the tonic, its minor third, the fourth and most characteristically, the seventh, within a pentatonic context. The second soloist part (*kthyes*), as a rule extends the range between the sub-tonic and the fourth below the iso note, completing together with the *marrës* a whole pentatonic anhemitonic scale. The bouncy rhythm of the third part (*hedhës*, thrower), which often moves together with the iso a minor third above it, as a kind of double iso, is a relatively new variation of this style attributed to Neço Muko, who with his group twice recorded a selection of Himarë songs in Paris in the 1930s.[4] This manner of singing with the addition of a kind of tremolo idiomatic shade effect in the third voice became known as "*avaz himariot*" (a Himarë tune/style). From a performance point of view, the similarities to Lab singing, such as the pulsating rhythm of the iso, as well as parallels between Himarë and Gjirokastër in the use of the third part/voice, *hedhës*, are a distinct feature of both areas. The affinity between the Himarë and the Lab style largely resides in the musical language, i.e. melodic organisation, formal structure and pentatonic spectrum.

"Do këndoj po m'u zu grika" (I'll Sing, But My Throat Won't Let Me), Notated Example 6, is one of the well-known Himarë songs placed in a

relatively high tessitura and marked by a rhythmic intensity and energetic voice production of a mainly syllabic iso. The permanent *tremolando* effect in the third voice (the *hedhës*) and its performing role, as a second iso (on a third above the drone), are the most distinctive features of the Himarë singing. The other Himarë song, "Vajz' e bukur-o" (Beautiful Girl) or better known as "Katina nina-nina", Audio Example 3 and Notated Example 7, is recorded by three singers, Koço Çakalli (*marrës*/taker), Neço Muko (*kthyes*/answerer) and Mitro Rumbo (iso). This recording, among many others, was made for Pathé in France, in 1929. It is interesting to note how much the interpretation of the Himarë song changed during a relatively short time, between the pre-World War II period and the second half of the 20th century. Comparing the different periods of these song interpretations it is not difficult to observe that during the totalitarian period of the second half of the 20th century the singing became more and more forceful, exultant and influential and went higher in pitch, seeming to embody more powerful, national and "socialist" feelings. Borrowing epic and heroic features from the neighbouring Lab singing, the Himarë approach deviated slightly from its lyrical, sonorous and wave-like nature. The given audio example (Tr. 3, "Vajz' e bukur-o") is an extraordinary example that shows the characteristic features of singing in 1929: a lower pitch, an "around the table" approach rather than a concert platform approach to the singing, less accents on the words and notes at the beginning of each 3/8 bar motif and a supple and flowing movement of the phrases. There is another version of this song recorded about forty or fifty years later, it is sung with skill and passion and presents a totally different approach; more animated, enthusiastic and vigorous.

The present generation of the Himarë IMUS, in general, and the group led by Katina Bejleri, in particular, tend to direct their styles even more towards achieving a lyrical and smoother nature and make the iso sound with less density. This way the group does not comprise more than five people altogether, three soloists and perhaps only two iso singers. In an interview Bejleri asserted that "I am keener to produce a sweet and lyrical tone rather than generate a dynamic and epic expression".

There is another style of singing, which remarkably encompasses the features of both Himarë and Lab styles; the Piluri IMUS. Although the Piluri village is geographically closer to the Himarë centre (Piluri is often depicted as the "Himarë balcony" from where the Ionian Sea and Himarë village can be viewed), its current IMUS style is much closer to the Lab singing. The Piluri IMUS is marked by a rhythmic intensity, energetic voice production and iso density. The iso itself is mostly hummed by

slightly pronouncing the text syllables rather than holding a constant sound to the vowel "e". If in the 1930s it was Neço Muko who left a vivid mark on the Himarë singing, nearly fifty years later it was Lefter Çipa[5] who almost did the same for Piluri singing. Çipa is not a singer as Muko was, but rather he is a poet and has orally arranged many Piluri songs. His sensuous poetic lines are generally considered the finest and most evocative in Albanian traditional poetry. His oral songs reveal another facet of his creative ingenuity: strength, dynamism and devotion. Çipa's suggests that "if the Himarë song has a special relationship with the sea, the Piluri song, due to the altitude, has a relationship with the wind".[6]

The Tosk IMUS Styles

> The boundaries of this [Tosk] historical-ethnic group are not easy to delineate since they constantly moved, more than any other group in South Albania … However, the natural boundaries were defined in three places: in the north up to the river Shkumbin; in the south they reached the Vjosë river; in the east between the crest of the mountain range of *Mal'i Thatë* (The Dry Mountain) and the Gramos mountains. From the west, where a natural boundary is missing, the frontier line between Toskëri and Myzeqe is difficult to define today; however, a conventional boundary may be delineated … This is the largest unified formation in the south of Albania (Zojzi 1962, 51).

For the same region and for the same ethnic population, Giuseppe Valentini would define it this way: "The Tosks were one of the large ethnic populations of South Albania whose centre was Mallakastra, but they then extended their denomination to incorporate the Lower Albanian dialect, characterized by the rotacism and other common characteristics" (Valentini 1956, 360). Tosk song-texts are described by Çabej to be of "soft lyricism", "heart-felt", as well as at times "epic". The melodic lines display a larger range than those of the Lab IMUS, but hardly more than an octave. The solo lines are highly articulated and of an improvisational and expansive nature. The melody develops in a supple and broad legato line supported by regional idiomatic expressive devices such as slides and embellishments, while its musical metre tends to be a free or melismatic one. The three-part Tosk IMUS is found in the south-east of Albania, in the region extending east of the river Vjosë to Slav Macedonia and the Greek province of Macedonia (north of Lake Ohër and east of Lake Prespë).

The iso is held to the vowel sound "e" and is non-syllabic, conversely, it is a continuous and sustained feature over long phrases and usually does

not apply ornamentation. The iso comes in shortly after the lead singer and the second soloist (countermelody) and uses staggered breathing to constantly hold the droning sound; it has to be loud, although it requires less people than in the Lab singing. The Tosk three-part singing areas of the Korçë region, its surrounding villages and also the neighbouring regions of Kolonjë, Devoll, Pogradec, Skrapar, the Përmet region and others all have their own characteristics, but the most distinctive one is that some of the singing is accompanied by an instrumental ensemble called *Saze*. The Pogradec songs, for example, are graceful and cheerful, those of Devoll, Kolonjë and Skrapar are characterised by an improvisatory and virtuoso style, while the Myzeqe IMUS is distinguished by a gentler mode of singing, while the Cham songs by a passionate and sometimes nostalgic feeling.

"Pse m'i mban sytë në mbërdhe" (Why You Keep Your Eyes Down), Notated Example 8, is a Tosk song from the Skrapar area. The multipart singing of this region is unaccompanied, just like the Lab, Gjirokastër and Himarë IMUS, but its line-up structure is a three-part and not a four-part one; two leading voices and the iso. The first and second soloists during their continuous interaction above the drone tend to gravitate towards the iso ground where a sustained tone, the third voice or the iso, is held on an uninterrupted vowel sound "e". The iso does not break off until both soloists have completed their melodic phrase, which in turn is closely associated with the corresponding verse line. Demir Zyko is a well-known singer (*hedhës*), who not only has strengthened the performance style of the Skrapar region, but has also created his own approach of the IMUS. As a leading voice, the *hedhës* usually starts his songs, as in the song "Ju o malet e Skraparit" (O You Mountains of Skrapar), Audio Example 4, with a long exposition depicting a highly ornamented and a longish melodic phrase in an emphatic and emotional way. The second soloist part (*prerës*) starts a little lower in pitch but after a while reaches the same level as the first and both solo voices interact. The iso members support the soloists on the vowel "e" with a scarcely perceptible use of staggered breathing.

The other Tosk song "Shoqe, do t'u them një fjalë" (My Girl Friends, I'll Tell You a Word), Notated Example 9, is a women's song from Lubonjë, in the Korçë area. It is based on an anhemitonic pentatonic mode with its ambitus of one octave and the consonant harmonies dominating throughout the song's modal language. At the very end of the song in the second voice, a group of notes appear which go down to a fourth below the iso using idiomatic descending slides to represent the sound of a bagpipe slowly deflating.

Looking at the notation of Example 9, one may assume that the leading voices[7] are melodically restrained and strictly divided in bar-lines of the rigid 3/8 metre. However, the transcription of this song, as with many other transcriptions of this kind, cannot faithfully represent the real performance, which is, in fact, characterised by a much freer treatment of time values.

The Gramsh region in Central Albania (Toskëria region) is particularly renowned for its repertoire of *muzikë me fyej* (music for shepherds' flutes). There is a characteristic ensemble with *fyej* (shepherds' flutes) consisting of some ten or more players who perform specific unaccompanied multipart music of the Gramsh area. This ensemble with *fyej* comprises instruments of different sizes among which the most characteristic is the *kavall*, a long shepherd's flute in the alto register. The unaccompanied multipart song, "Kush të nisi të bëri pyll" (Who Made You to Blossom), Notated Example 10, shows the same multipart pentatonic music with iso, but in a vocal form. The leading melodic role during the whole song is taken by the first voice; the second solo voice enters a few bars later and then a constantly held sound of the iso is introduced on the vowel "e". The song is a classical type in the women's repertoire of this genre where the second voice is modally interdependent with melodic phrases of the leading voice and only slightly independent in contour and rhythm.

"Më ra shamia në llucë" (My Handkerchief Fell in Mud), Notated Example 11, is a song from Përmet, sung by a women's group. It is a multipart pentatonic song in a narrow range; its ambitus does not exceed a fourth. Being a humorous text, it consists of several couplets in an almost declamatory style and the musical structure corresponds most closely to the textual one. Since the text needs to be heard and in this case is in the second voice, the melodic, *quasi* recitative, line uncommonly develops in this voice, while the other two parts play the iso role.

The tendency for legato singing, the use of expressive idiomatic portamenti, a combination of chest and sometimes head voice register alongside the nuances of the local Tosk dialect, give a specific flavour to the traditional singing performance of the Përmet area. The song "O po kur më shkon djalë sokakut" (When You Walk Down a Cobbled Street), Audio Example 5, is typical of the Përmet vocal style which has been also developed in great detail by the instrumental music of the same area, the Saze.[8] The consonant produced harmonies nourished by the descending slides and the soothing movements of the solo voices create a supple, flowing and melodious manner of singing.

In the region around Lake Prespa, in the Southwest of Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), where an Albanian-speaking minority live, Jane

Sugarman has conducted field research into the music of the Prespa community. Her book *Engendering Song* (1997) provides many musical examples of the multipart singing of this region which have been adapted to the standard notations. Apart from treating aspects of musical and social practices of the locals in general, Sugarman makes a meticulous investigation into specific features of the IMUS such as the function of the soloist voices and the iso, the use of pentatonic anhemitonic scales, the rudimentary Tosk ornamentation and other issues. Among many songs analysed by her, "Ra vesa, vesojti dhenë" (The Dewdrop Covered the Land) is a women's song/dance which I found to be of particular interest as indeed is Sugarman's analysis: "For each line of the text, the first soloist begins several pitches above that of the drone. As she descends to the drone pitch toward the end of the line, the second soloist enters above her, moving through the range of higher pitches that the first soloist had initially defined … It is this continuous weaving back and forth of the two solo vocal lines that gives the Tosk style of polyphony its distinctive sound" (Sugarman 1997, 67).

The Myzeqe IMUS Styles

"Myzeqe is to be found in the middle of the Geg, Tosk and Lab ethnic groups and extends from the Shkumbin river in the north and all the way to the Vjosë river in the south, and from the coast of the Adriatic Sea in the west to the foot of the mountains in the east" (Zojzi 1962, 54). The Myzeqe IMUS, which in most studies is grouped as an integral part of the Tosk IMUS, is characterised by a broad melodic structure of the two solo parts and sounds quite different from the same melodic solo lines of the Lab singing. As with the Tosk IMUS in general, with its quality of a more expansive verse line (six-foot instead of a four-foot as among the Labs), the Myzeqe solo melodic lines put the emphasis on the expression and shaping, as well as trying to expand them and give them an emotional and sometimes a lamenting character. The iso is a continuous and sustained one over long sections and strongly matches the spoken dialect, especially the distinctive quality of the local open vowel "e". Although it may sound as if the melodic structure is in the character of a free metre, it is of a well organised metric structure of either simple or compound musical metres. Shupo notes that in the men's songs of Myzeqe "the second voice creates a second figured pedal together with the iso of the third voice in a minor third, major second or major third relationship" (Shupo 1997, 444). The Myzeqe IMUS styles tend to incorporate traditional instruments to accompany the multipart songs.

The song "O qo an' e lumit" (This Side of the River), Notated Example 12, displays some of the characteristic features of Myzeqe IMUS; the compound metre 7/8 gives the song measurable proportions so that the time value notes cannot be treated as free as in the other South-eastern parts of Toskëria. The performance style of this song tends to offer a serene and pastoral atmosphere where, as the text says, "this side of the river, there are many nightingales". The "figured pedal of the second voice", as Shupo has pointed out, is seen in several segments of the song in its minor third relationship with the iso part. It is worth pointing out, however, that there are other Myzeqe songs, which tend to be closer to a freer rendering of singing that has more affinity with the South-eastern part of Toskëri and when transcribing a staffless system for these types of songs would be more appropriate.

The Cham (Çam) IMUS Styles

> It is an interesting fact that the songs of the Çams, of the southern edge of Albania, are similar to that of the Tosk(s) … This concordance can be challenged on the grounds that today the Tosk and Çam do not live next to each other. However, this argument is historically demolished because in a certain period of Albanian history the Lab tribes were brought into the middle as a partition (wedge)[9], and would have, therefore, divided an ancient unit into two parts. Thus, we can observe how traditional songs are even able to throw light on the history of our tribes (Çabej 1975, 130).

The IMUS of Chameria (Alb. Çamëria), which since 1944 is practised in a few places of South Albania, has close similarities with, and carries the main features and structures of Tosk singing; such similarities are also found among the Vlachs situated in the south of Albania and Greek Epirus. Chams (Alb. Çam-s) who live in the present-day Albanian territory sing their songs in Albanian, but in the past when they used to live in the present-day Greek lands, they sang the songs in their own local dialect which is very distinctive even among the Albanians. The same songs are now sung in Greek by the Orthodox Chams, who, at the present time, call themselves Thesprotian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox or Epirot Orthodox and are not keen to be recognised as Chams. However, the songs are the same. It should be stressed that despite the fact that the Cham songs in Thesprotia are not nowadays sung in Albanian (since Albanian is not being taught anymore and the language is rapidly dying out), they were preserved with great care in the Albanian areas where the Cham people resided. On the one hand, they may have lost a little from the spoken dialect of Chameria, but, on the other, they were cultivated in the same

area where different approaches and styles of the Albanian IMUS were being practised.

The composition of the Cham men's IMUS is usually the same as the Tosks' three-part singing: two solo parts and the iso group. The sustained sound of the iso is sung, as with the Tosks, to the vowel "e". A branch of the Cham IMUS is characterised by its rhapsodising style, which may last up to 30 minutes. Among these, the more lyrical ones are usually sung in a head voice and in a relatively high pitch that clearly marks a distinction between the Lab and Himarë singing. According to Shaban Zeneli (a Cham born and brought up in Fier), although the Cham IMUS is known to be in three parts, there are cases when extra parts are improvised, a third and a fourth part, which can be named as *marrës* (the taker), *kthyes* (answerer), *pritës* (who "waits for it"), *hedhës* (thrower) and then the iso.[10] The Cham and the Tosk iso have many stylistic features in common, but in some cases the former differs from the Tosk in that they start their iso at the same time as, or even before, the solo melody (*marrës*) begins. This order is not common among the Tosks, Labs and Myzeqe people.

A detailed examination of the Cham songs was carried out by Erich Stockmann who initially collected them in Albania in the 1950s, then together with Doris Stockmann transcribed and published them as a study in Germany in 1960. Their research, published as *Die Vokale Bordun-Mehrstimmigkeit in Südalbanien* was translated into Albanian in the 1960s. It is not only a detailed technical report of Erich Stockmann's expedition or an "exquisite hors d'oeuvre" as Lloyd put it, but also shows some of the wealth of regional variation to be found in the unaccompanied multipart singing of a musical culture which developed outside its birthplace. Bernard Lortat-Jacob dealing with the multipart music of South Albania, as well as with the investigation of the Cham singing styles in its birthplace, Chameria (Greek: Τσαμουριά/Tsamouriá), underlines the point by asserting that "some expressive devices of the Cham repertoire could be quite recent, such as the famous song 'Çelo Mezani' introduced by Refat Sulejmani. This kind of expressivity, based on nostalgia and tears of sadness, has appeared to be a canonical way of singing in the Cham style. Therefore, there is a kind of 're-invention' of tradition synonymous with a 'complication' of a historical course".[11]

"Në ulliri" (At the Olive Tree), Audio Example 6, is a Cham song, which in fact has been sung for over 60 years in the town of Fier where many families of Cham origin reside. Each of the two solo parts, including the iso, oscillates and decorates the melody with an abundance of ornaments; it is of a particular occurrence in the sense that the second voice part is melodically developed with almost the same highly decorated

articulation as the first voice part. After a relatively long introduction of the leading voice, the second soloist enters with his short phrase just before the iso-holding sound. The most distinctive feature of this men's group singing is the permanent fluctuations of the voice enriched with embellishments, which include grace notes and slides giving the song a strong meditative and evocative character.

"Ra dielli në malë" (The Sun is Rising on the Mountain), Notated Example 13, is one of several songs analysed in the Stockmanns' survey and, among the other notated examples, I have included it here to show how their field research examination was transformed into a meticulous analysis accompanied by transcriptions of small details.

The Aromanian/Vlach IMUS Styles

It is not my intention to give priority to the Aromanian or Vlach IMUS styles over the other styles discussed here, however, since this group has been little researched in Albania, a general discussion of Aromanian/Vlach historic and linguistic features, terminology and musical culture may provide some useful clarifications and context.

Historical facts: There are many theories that explain the origins of the Aromanian/Vlachs: in Romania they are considered to be the descendants of the Roman colonists mixed with Romanised Daco-Thracian people living in Roman Dacia area. After the Slavic invasions these peoples were split in two branches, Romanians and Aromanians; the latter migrated south of the Danube River. In Greece, they are believed to be descended from a local Greek population that was Latinised either immediately following the Roman conquest of Greece, or later, during the first centuries of the Byzantine Empire when Latin continued to be the official language.[12] In fact, the area of origin of the early Aromanians, who were Romanic peoples and spoke a Romanian or Romance language, is what used to be the epicentre of the territories of present-day Albania and beyond, south-eastwards. The Aromanian/Vlachs were originally mixtures of different indigenous tribes, who during Roman times were dwelling in south Illyria and lived in symbiosis with the autochthonous Albanian-speakers populace. Then, gradually they were fragmented and dispersed all over the Balkans. Being transhumant shepherds, they expanded over a vast area south of the lower Danube during the Slavic invasions.

The Aromanians or Vlachs are still living in ethnic areas in their original homeland throughout the Balkan region, especially in Northern Greece, Albania, Macedonia, as well as in Eastern Serbia, Northeast Bulgaria, Croatia and Romania (mostly in Dobrogea). Although they were

generally known to be transhumant stateless herders, towards the mid-18th century some Aromanian/Vlach settlements such as Voskopoja (Moschopolis), Shipska, Grabova, Nica, Llënga, Gradishta, Gramoshtea, Linotopea, Nikolica, Vithkuqi became more prosperous and a powerful merchant class emerged through its trade routes of international connections leading to Venice, Austria, Istanbul and several other main centres of Europe. Around twenty four churches, printing press and Academy, as well as other social-professional institutions such as businesses (*esnafe*), "Poor's Depository" (*Kassa ton Phtohon*) and "Orphanotrophy" were built in Voskopoja and a cultural effervescence arose in this city. However, this was a brief period of time and Voskopoja was plundered and finally destroyed probably by the local people. Its inhabitants fled the place and migrated in all directions by establishing several other settlements. Wherever the Aromanian/Vlachs settled in today's Albania, they continued to share space and institutional order with the Albanian-speaking society, while at the same time maintaining their cultural identities, communal and spiritual life. The Aromanian/Vlachs were also integrated into other Balkan societies by preserving the legacy of the Eastern Orthodox Christianity as the mainstream religion, and vernacular based on the ancient Romanian origin.

Foreign travellers who visited Albania in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, such as Leake, Spencer, Tozer, Hammond and others, expressed their astonishment when they met in some villages ethnic groups that spoke a particular language, different from the local one, or maybe closer to their own language, an impression that they fixed in their own books.[13]

Linguistic Features: The Aromanian/Vlach language is an eastern variant of Vulgar Latin (the spoken form of non-Classical Latin) or to put it simply, a Provincial Latin. Linguistic research has provided some evidence that the Romanian/Vlach language originated in the same substratum as Albanian (spoken in Southern Illyria) before the two languages began to be distinguished from each other. Just as centuries of Roman rule saw the Vlachs become thoroughly latinised so the Albanian language has been strongly influenced by Latin. "Then, we suppose, pre-Rumanian moved north of the Danube and merged with a Daco-Romance dialect, which contained Thracian elements … Old loans in Rumanian from Albanian and shared Albanian-Rumanian developments from Latin point to an eastern origin. But the nomadic habits of the Vlachs and the herding culture of the Albanians would have brought them into contact for perhaps long periods in the past" (Hamp 1963, 3). There is substantial evidence to suggest that it was in the 11th century AD that the Vlach language split into the present-day Romanian and Aromanian: Romanian,

which was used in Romania, developed by its peoples dwelling in the lands north of the lower Danube, while Aromanian used in the Southwest Balkans continued its development separately; both languages are still understandable to each other. The Romanian and Aromanian languages seem to have followed the evolution of the spoken Latin that belonged to the Eastern Roman Empire before the Slavic invasions in the 7th century AD. From ancient times to the present day both branches of the Vlach language, Romanian and Aromanian, continue to exist. Yet, if the Romanian during the second millennium AD flourished in the land of today's Romania as the language of the illuminists, universities, scholars and writers, the Aromanian, although it is still spoken in the original homeland of Vlach peoples has remained less developed, in a form of spoken dialect. However, it should be stressed that the earliest known examples of written Aromanian were manuscripts of the Patriarch Photius dating from around 860–870 AD, and manuscripts written by St. Naum of Ohrid at about the same time. In the early 18th century several liturgical books in Aromanian, written in the Greek alphabet, began to be published and at the beginning of the 19th century other materials appeared, written in the Latin alphabet. In the 1980s a new Aromanian spelling system began to emerge and has been adopted in most countries where Aromanian is spoken. The new system, which eliminates all the accented letters, with the exception of "ã", was proposed by four Aromanian writers and first published in 1985.

Terminological Facts: According to the geographic area covered by the Balkan ethnic groups map, the Aromanians are dispersed in "ethnic islands" among other populations. They can be grouped into those concentrated around the Pindus Mountains (in the Southwest of Macedonia, north Greek Epirus and Western Thessaly); those found around the town of Farsala (Pharsala) in Greece, called *Farshãrots*; those concentrated in the east of the Gramos Mountains (*Gramosteans*); and those spread out in Albania, mainly among the Tosks, with its people known by non-Albanians as *Farsherots* or *Frasherots*.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that some confusion has arisen regarding the term *Farsherots* (*Farshãrots*). However, in Albania the former and present Provincial Latin-speaking people are usually known as Vlachs of the Korçë, Kolonjë, Leskovik and Pogradec areas, as Vlachs of Myzeqe, as well as Vlachs of the Gjirokastër, Sarandë and Vlorë regions. Among the different interpretations offered by scholars we can identify two main views of the modern Aromanian term *Farshãrot*: one, proposed largely in my view by the Greek scholars, associates this denomination with the town Farsala (Pharsala) that represents the Aromanian-speaking

population concentrated in the south of Epirus, in Aetolia-Acarnania, an area known in the Middle Ages as Small Wallachia. The other interpretation, proposed in my view by authors of an Aromanian/ Romanian inclination, use Romanian spelling *Fărşerot* not only in order to differentiate it from those Aromanian/Vlachs of the Greek affiliation, but also to associate this denomination with the village Frashër in Albania.[14]

The primary origin of the word "Vlach" is Germanic and was applied to the Celtic tribes, meaning that it survives today in the English name of Wales. From the Germanic tribes this term was transferred to the Slavs who employed it in specific reference to the Romanic peoples, including Italians, French and Latin-speaking Balkan tribes. The Slavs passed this word on to Greek—βλάχοι. *Vlach* also carried the meaning of "shepherd", due to the fact that almost all Aromanian/Vlachs were herd-breeders. Albanians also call the Aromanian/Vlachs *çoban*, borrowed from Ottoman Turkish نابوچ, meaning "shepherd". Greeks also call the Aromanian/Vlachs *chobani* (τσομπάνοι). In Serbia and Macedonia they are generally known as *Vlasi* or *Tsintsari*; in English they are identified as *Vlachs*, in German as *Wlachen* or *Walachen* and in French as *Valaques*. In Albania Aromanian/Vlachs call themselves *Armãnji* or *Rrãmãnji* and their language *Armãneashti* (Armãneashce, Rrãmãneasht) or *limbã Armãneascã*. In the last thirty years or so many more Vlachs in Albania have preferred to be called Aromanians.

Musical Tradition: Pandi Bello provides a useful account of the dissemination, styles and inclinations of the Aromanian/Vlach traditional singing in the Southwest Balkans. According to him, the three main branches and dialects of the Aromanian people in the Southwest Balkans are the *Farshărot*, the Pindean and the Gramoshtean. Between them they share more common elements than differences. Byzantine ecclesiastical music is another strong bond between the Aromanian/Vlachs and the other Southwest Balkan peoples. Bello states that "the Aromanian folklore is primarily vocal, *sui generis* vocal" (Bello 1996, 8).

It can be said that there are two types of Aromanian singing (although this division cannot be rigidly applied): the monodic singing, which is practised among the Aromanian/Vlachs in Pindus and neighbouring areas, and the multipart singing, which is widespread among the Aromanian/ Vlachs of Albania and the Aromanian/Vlachs of Greece. The Gramostean Aromanians, who are situated in the north and between the Pindean and the Aromanian/Vlachs of Albania, have developed a two-part heterophonic singing as well as a monodic one, a kind of a mediatory musical practice between the other two. Since the topic of this research is the vocal iso(n)

in the multipart singing, the focus will be on the Aromanian/Vlachs of Albania and the Vlach singing of Epirus, Greece.

In the Albanian territory the Aromanian/Vlach IMUS generally used to be practised in both Albanian and Aromanian languages. The same can be said for the IMUS practised in the Greek territory. Recently the Aromanian/Vlach IMUS of these territories has been practised in Aromanian, as well as in Albanian and Greek. Although many of the Aromanian/Vlach iso-based multipart songs have not survived because of their difficult social and territorial circumstances, recent efforts at revival are increasing knowledge of the language and specific pastoral style of singing that were once widespread in the area. The Aromanian/Vlach IMUS very often bear a resemblance to the different ethnic areas in which they were practised. Following Rice's argument that "musical style seems more tied to locale than to ethnicity" (Rice 1987, 190) it is reasonable to support the argument that the Aromanian people have also contributed to the dissemination of the IMUS. The nomadic nature of life as shepherds allowed the Aromanians to act as mediatory practitioners; borrowing and sharing musical forms and styles between different ethnic populations across a large area. Çabej points out that "the wealth that the Aromanians and Albanians possess in their proverbs deriving from the shepherd's way of life, is linked, I think, with the pastoral life of these two peoples" (Çabej 1975, 119).

The Aromanian/Vlach IMUS generally occurs as a three-part type, as in the Tosk style. The iso does not break off during the melodic phrases. It pauses briefly only after a complete melodic improvisation and ornamental section led by both soloists, in order to make room for them (the solo voices) to re-enter, alternating and overlapping one after another, as in the first section of the song. A characteristic ending is the descending slide of the iso, from the basic tone to a roughly minor third, which gives the sense, in Sokoli's words, of the "sound of bagpipe deflating" (Sokoli 1965, 134). The Aromanians of Dobrogea, mentioned above, owe their IMUS style to the Albanian Tosk populations from which they came. Constantin Secară[15], explaining the affinity and "relations between the Aromanians and Albanians" in the field of multipart singing, has stated:

> The Fărşerot repertoire consists mainly of *cănţii di 'mpadi* [polyphonic songs], called also as songs with "e". The simple, pre-pentatonic structures and the *giusto* syllabic system are dominant. Nonetheless, the polyphonic pattern is spectacular. Two performers develop the discourse in the form of a dialogue, which is here and there contrapuntal. They are supported by a numerous group singers accompanying them … The sonorous overlapping often creates dissonances, which are also stressed by the intemperate

> intonation. The powerful emission strengthens the audible image. Taking into consideration the geographical area in which Aromanians lived and the role of the Orthodox Church in defining their identity and culture, the obvious similarity of these songs with the old Byzantine songs is not a coincidence (Secară 2006, 131).

Secară's treatment of the IMUS repertoire is quite intriguing and it is not difficult to find analogies between his vision and Baud-Bovy's in his "Essai sur la chanson populaire greque".

> Traces of vocal polyphony also exist in the repertoire of another ethnic group who lived in neighbourhood with the Greeks: the Aromanians or Koutsovlachs of Thessaly, Epirus and west Macedonia. As in Romanian song, the trochaic verse—catalectic or not—of six or mainly eight syllables is the most common, but the influence of the Greek song is manifested in the songs of a 15 syllable iambic verse, where the strophe is very often a three-hemistich. Having the opportunity to study "in situ", the musical language of the Aromanians of that part of Pindus, Thessaly, I found a clearly anhemitonic idiom and in spite of a particular colour of this language which is phonologically so different from the Greek, it is not at all distinguishable from the Greco phones of the region (Baud-Bovy 1983, 55).

There is a typical pastoral Aromanian/Vlach style of singing, with the second part falsetto, more or less as in the Andon Poçi village, north of Gjirokastër, which I also found in Kefalovriso, another Aromanian village in Greece.[16] Both villages on both sides of the frontier were set up to make room for the Aromanian people as permanent residents. Since the distinctive feature of the Vlach/Aromanian song consists more in the performing style (in relation to their surrounding Albanian or Greek neighbours) rather than its formal structure, I have preferred to include only audio examples, one from Andon Poçi village in Albania, Aromanian: "Featã mutreashti napãrti di amari" (Albanian: Vajza që vështron nga deti; Greek: Κοπέλλα αντίκρυ στη θάλασσα; A Lass Gazes at the Sea), Audio Example 7, and the other, from Kefalovriso village in North West Greek Epirus, Aromanian: "Prota diminiatsã a li Anastasii" (Albanian: Mëngjesi i parë i Anastasisë; The First Morning of Anastasia), Audio Example 8. It is supposed that the people from Andon Poçi have a common origin with the Kefalovrisians and that their IMUS is closer to the Tosk styles, and seems to match, particularly in the way they hold the vowel "e" of the ison; it is an open sound, very characteristic of the Aromanian's language open vowels. Their Aromanian language seems to have influenced the IMUS style by giving emphasis to the vocalization of the words characterised by

guttural sounds and extended vowels, but also by the consonants such as the reinforced "rr", a typical sound for the Aromanian/Vlach language. Another common feature which characterises both Aromanian villages is the descending glissando through the intervals of a major second and minor third. In the Andon Poçi IMUS style the above example symbolises the shepherds yelling and shouting at their sheep (although it is a love story text!), while the Kefalovriso version seems to project a common conversation between the shepherds.

The IMUS Styles of Greek-Speaking People

Among the Greek-speaking populations of South Albania and Greek Epirus the *isokratima* (ισοκράτημα), as the ethnomusicologist Kosta Loli puts it, appears in various forms and typological structures of the IMUS. One way of ison singing is to continuously hold the tonal/modal basis of the song on the vowel "e" or, according to Loli, change it to "α-ι-ο", depending on the closing verse line at the end of the musical phrase. Another form consists of a syllabic ison in which case it is the poetical text of the *partis* (taker) that should be followed by the isokratima group (Loli 2006, 43). As can be seen from Loli's investigation, both forms are used in the IMUS as practised in Albania.

It is clear then that the drones found in Greek-speaking ethnic groups inside Albanian frontiers have striking similarities with the IMUS used among the Albanian populations, particularly the Labs. Also the Greeks who live in the north of Greek Epirus (bordering Albania, in villages such as Parakalamos, Ktismata and Delvinaki) practise a type of IMUS which is very close to the styles of other Albanian ethnic populations. Researching the Greek IMUS in the north of Epirus in April 2006 I—or rather my talented wife—found that the IMUS of the village of Parakalamos, to the north west of Janina, is conspicuously similar to the IMUS of Myzeqe; both display the same lyrical type of melody, which moves in close and stepwise intervals, but also by descending glissandos through the intervals of perfect fourth and major second. The iso of this particular area is similar, however, not to the Lab but to the Tosk style, an almost uninterrupted open "e" even between the stanzas of the song; see "Ena savato vrádhi", Parakalamos, Greece (Albanian: Një e shtunë mbrëma; One Saturday Night), Audio Example 9. In the Pogoni area, as was pointed out earlier, there are striking similarities with the Lab inclination of the Gjirokastër IMUS, emphasising in the same way not only the rhythmic intensity of the iso, clashes of major and minor seconds over a syllabic droning and the density of sounds in a narrow range, but also the poetical iambic metre and

the 2/4 or 3/8 musical metres; see "Kinisa na rtho na vrádhi" (Albanian: U nisa të vij në mbrëmje; I Was About to Come in the Evening), Audio Example 10. "Alismonó ke hjérome" (I Forget but Enjoy), Notated Example 14, is a song from the Greek Epirus (Ktismata). The melody of this song is similar to numerous Lab songs in that they both share near identical rhythmic phrases, formal structures and pentatonic gamut. There is another version of this song from the Greek Epirus; it is of a monodic nature and accompanied by an instrumental *koumpaneia* (Alb. *saze*) group, it contains in itself elements of individual parts of multipart singing but in a linear form. The latter singing and playing version (*koumpaneia*/*saze*) is obviously much closer to the Tosk IMUS of Përmet or Leskovik tradition. The song "Alismono ke hjerome" is a good example where the Epirus IMUS and monodic singing merge.

Was it initially a multipart song adapted to a monodic linear development or was it a monodic tune from which other parts were extracted (the taker, answerer and the iso) in order to shape a multipart version of two, three or four voices? This is difficult to assert; however, both the multipart and monodic versions, share similar contrapuntal features of a melodic contour of anhemitonic pentatonic structure. They also display differences: in the IMUS version the melody (including the iso) is characterised by a syllabic and accentual form, whereas in the monodic *koumpania* version, the melismatic and free rhythmic patterns are developed.

In Ktismata (Κτίσματα), yet again in a village in the municipality of Delvinaki next to the Greek-Albanian border, I met Giorgos, a man in his mid-seventies, with whom I had a long conversation regarding monodic diatonic singing and the IMUS; the latter being obviously of the pentatonic spectrum. He sang and commented by making comparisons between the Byzantine chant and folk songs. "They are the same", he said. "Let's say a melody from the Third Tone (*efrenestho ta urania, aghailiastho ta epighia*) and a traditional folk song (*epano sti, ki aman aman aman, epano stin triandafiliá*). For all intents and purposes, it is the same scale, the same style and the same metre, in three (3/4)". When I asked Giorgos if he could find any similarity between the Oktoechos and the IMUS, he answered straightaway: "No, the IMUS is of a pentatonic nature". According to him, "Byzantine music was initially pentatonic, and then became heptatonic, like the European music"! Giorgos was neither an educated musician, nor a researcher, but his musical intuition was of the highest degree. He highly praised the Albanian expressive IMUS, stressing that it is rich in every sense. I am summarising some of his opinions:

> The Himara songs are really very beautiful, is it perhaps the performers, who sing so nicely? I feel, they have maintained their ancient style of singing; they have not modified the songs. However, there are stylistic differences between various regions. In Parakalamos, for example, the songs are different; those people over there cannot sing the true polyphonic song. During Ali Pasha's period in Janina, the contacts between our district and Gjirokastër, between Sarandë and the rest of Epirus were very frequent and normal. The dress, behaviour and even the character were the same. The singing too was the same, however, with some nuances between the zones. It is this refinement that makes the variety of styles of polyphonic song attractive. Although in Albania the songs are sung in Albanian, the way they sing is similar to ours. Melodies, such as the mourning ones, mirologia, for example, have approximate scales of a pentatonic nature, which call to mind the styles of polyphonic songs. Sometimes instruments accompany them, but their style, in essence, remains polyphonic.[17]

Kosta Loli notes: "Going down towards the south of Epirus, the presence of the polyphonic song shrinks and gradually gets lost. We do not know about any existence in the old days of polyphonic songs or any polyphonic character in any village around the town of Konica" (Loli 2006, 16). Loli also observes that in Pogoni (Prefecture of Janina) or in the villages of the region of Tsamanta (Prefecture of Thesprotia) because of the demographic developments, the basic group of the part-singing practitioners is almost lost. But Loli also notes that in the region of Dropull in Albania, part-singing is a vital part of local communities and is practised in the families, neighbourhoods and beyond.

In the Greek province of Macedonia, in the town of Kostur/Kastoria, two-part singing with iso was still practised until only recently and there are signs that this process has started to disappear. However, the style of singing of this region is a part of the overall Southwest Balkan IMUS that has some specific characteristics; the iso enters shortly after the second soloist. According to Nikolai Kaufman,[18] the three-part IMUS of Kostur might have been relocated in this region from Albania.

Arbëresh Traditional Multipart Music

A significant aspect of the development of the Southwest Balkan multipart singing is its oral transmission from the Balkan Peninsula to South Italy from the 15th century onwards. By focussing on only "multipart" singing I hope to isolate a particular aspect of the Arbëresh oral history. In Calabria, where the majority of the Arbëresh were settled, local people, the Calabrians, practised their own multipart singing. However, the newcomers brought with them from Albania and Morea a different kind of

musical expression and structure. Kruta asserts that, "in the new conditions created in the new [Italian] soil, absorption of the more developed forms of polyphony and bourdon occurred; the latter emerged as a voice with an individual function" (Kruta 1991, 68).

The blending of the Balkan style with the local Calabrian style of multipart singing into a new repertory, a process which developed over hundreds of years, produced an Arbëresh/Calabrian physiognomy. This blend evoked feelings of remoteness and presented images of an individual and popular consciousness and imagination. Whatever the origin of the Arbëresh song, whether Albanian, Calabrian or from Basilicata, the present product is a fascinating result; one with which we associate vocal production, the Arbëresh language and elements of an accompaniment in the character of a drone. Although partial, this drone is a significant element of Arbëresh song. Both versions of multipart singing are present; the unaccompanied one and singing with instrumental accompaniment. The unaccompanied vocal forms, monodic or multipart, seem to have predominance over the instrumental forms; also the repertoire of women is clearly more prominent among the Arbëresh people.

The multipart singing of the Arbëresh community is expressed in at least two typical musical genres: the *Vjersh* or *Vjesh*, a two-part or multipart form (it can be also found in monodic form) and the *ajre* (air), in which forms of drone accompaniment develop. Apart from vocal multipart structures, both genres have in common indications of a drone that sometimes resembles a longer pedal and, at other times, the sporadic nature of a drone/iso feeling. The rapport between the solo singer and the second voice or the group is a model that is reflected in the multipart singing of other civilisations all over the world. However, in Calabria the characteristics of timbre, embellishments, melodic improvisations, oscillating vocal effects and constant reference to the unison foundation tone for the melodic phrases, very much project the spirit of the place. The two-part women's songs, some of which use a partial drone, are known for their sheer strength and volume, and for the use of idiomatic expressive devices such as yodelling and bleating. According to Kruta, the connotations of the drone, as an accompanying voice or of a holding basic tone, suggest similarities to the present South Albanian iso. This is a proposal that has been made on justified grounds; "In many Arbëresh two-part songs, sung by two individuals or a group, it has often been observed that one of the two voices is the one that makes sometimes similar movements to a droning sound. At certain places this voice appears as a syllabic bourdon [drone] at the same pitch, at other times it tends to avoid uniformity by moving to a major second lower" (Kruta 1991, 66–67).

Kruta takes as an illustration the song "The Little Kostandin" (Kostandini i vogëlith), Notated Example 15, to demonstrate this particular occurrence.

Discussing both types of Arbëresh songs, without iso and with iso, Shupo suggests that "despite their Byzantine impact, those with iso show a clear Albanian origin" (Shupo 1997, 471), while Ahmedaja states that "when discussion takes place with regard to Byzantine singing, the Albanian traditional songs as well as those of the Arbëresh should be taken into consideration. Byzantine culture and Orthodox religion have been for them a crucial help in the preservation of a part of their identity in a foreign land where they were forced to emigrate" (Ahmedaja 2003, 404).

The *vjersh* are multipart songs of a typical Arbëresh tradition and their texts consist of love songs and wedding songs and are often rich in motifs of nature and rural life. Other recurring themes are homesickness and longing for the motherland; Albania or Morea, distant, over there, among the Ionian and Adriatic seas. Epic motifs depicting the figures of Scanderbeg and Constantine, as well as mythic symbols and figurative tongues, filled with nostalgia and love, are among the most powerful oral and written Calabrian popular sung poetry. Many musicologists have interpreted the drone/iso's occurrence in Calabria as a suggestion that by loosing contact with the Southwest Balkans during the course of almost 500 years, the drone has been gradually fragmented and even dissolved.

Although the drone/iso of traditional or secular singing evolved in this region, in the Mid to Late Medieval Times, it still did not have the necessary time to develop properly. Therefore, the folk traditional drone/iso which came to Calabria from the Balkan Peninsula as a component of the song was embryonic and remained as such allowing room for a natural process of transformation. Conversely, during Ottoman times in the Southwest Balkans, the drone grew to become an important element of multipart singing and employed a variety of specific styles of singing. The following example is a three-part *ajre* (a type of song with a pedal accompaniment) from Lungro in Calabria, characterised by its own structure and its own character; "Ti ndë një finestër e u nën një ballkun" (You Under the Window and I Under the Balcony), Audio Example 11. It is the first soloist that in a descending scale pattern opens the song followed by a second soloist that, together with rest of the drone group in unison, establish the initial modal basis of the beginning of the song. At the first hearing, the first soloist's declamatory style gives the impression of a resemblance with the Albanian types of IMUS. However, the drone of this song, often doubled at the octave, makes a stepwise downward movement ending with a cadence of a perfect fourth. This form of drone

movement differs fundamentally from the Balkan versions of IMUS where the drone remains unchangeable.

The Arbëresh preserved their traditional music in the same way as with the other key elements of their culture and identity; their language, religion, icons, Byzantine singing, costumes, dances, weddings and funerals, love songs and para-liturgical songs. Calabria and Sicily were transformed into living museums of distant cultures and old values. It may be a coincidence but the multipart singing of the Arbëresh of Calabria and the Toskëria and Gjirokastër areas of Albania display many similarities. Mutual features such as the free melodic and rhythmic styles suggest a relationship between the two traditions. Also, in both places (in Albania in the Toskëria more than Gjirokastër area), the vocal drone appears to be accommodated in an instrumental variant too. If the Tosk singing is defined by its lyricism and expansiveness, the Arbëresh traditional singing is defined by its sense of nostalgia, nourished with epic motifs.

In San Demetrio Corone of Calabria, in August 2006 I met Pino Cacozza (Zef Kakoca), an Arbëresh poet and singer-song writter, who preferred to regard the Arbëresh traditional culture as a broader spectrum of Mediterranean culture. The *vjersh*, according to him, "have the atmosphere of Calabria since the songs were born here and the melodic lines were created among the Calabrian people. The Calabrians may have lost some their vocal tradition but we have preserved ours with more fanaticism, the same as we have done with our culture, music and literature. Until the early 20th century the Arberesh did not have any contact with Albania and the interactions were made only with the Calabrian culture and Calabrian people".[19]

In both its profane and para-liturgical forms, the language of Arbëresh traditional music, apart from some periodic pentatonic usage, is mainly adapted to patterns of diatonic modal language with simple types of dual and triple musical metre. In the Southwest Balkans the pentatonic and modal systems are very much part of an affinity with both rural and urban parts of the region, and perhaps the same affiliation was preserved among the Arbëresh people.

The *karamunxia*, a kind of bagpipe, usually made by the player himself, is one of the most common instruments used among the Arbëresh people. However, the *surdulina*, a wind instrument, has a special place; it is practised in the areas where the Arbëresh population live and is suggested that it originated in the Southwest Balkans and has common features, especially its loud and noisy sound and buzzing timbre, with instruments which are still in use in Albania. This instrument is of the Italian *zampognas* family (similar to bagpipes but not with a bag), which uses a

pair of rough-toned double reeds, two for the chanter and two for the drone. It is the latter element, the drone, which has led some scholars to suggest a probable link with the Southwest Balkans. Listening to *surdulina* playing as part of San Paolo's Festival in August 2006, I was impressed by the sheer sound it produced and the cheerful atmosphere it created on this festive day. I had the momentary impression of listening to a pair of *surle* players, an instrument that is used mostly in north Albania, above the river Shkumbin.

The Arbëresh people of Sicily sing para-liturgical songs, such as that of St. Lazarus, but their main repertoire and legacy is liturgical. Here the traditional and secular singing may have existed when migrants arrived with their priests to this island, but as the church was the main place where people gathered and sung, the non-liturgical songs were gradually transformed into para-liturgical ones and intermingled with liturgical singing. At Piana degli Albanesi in Sicily, for instance, an Albanian cultural and ethnic patrimony is still preserved and has to be mentioned in the annual cycle for the ritual aspects such as Carnivals and Easter. "Till recent times the Sicilian multipart singing has been neglected, and considered as a modern importation from North Italy. Scholars thought that the authentic traditional vocal music of the Island was the monody" (Macchiarella 2006, MS). Macchiarella's study analyses a possible relationship between the present day oral polyphonic practices and the written sources of "an ancient common root, the *falsobordone*, a structure par excellence of the accompanied singing from the South Italian regions" (Macchiarella 2006, MS). The ancient traces of *falsobordone* today could be found only in the form a melody and drone**.**

In Sicily and Sardinia local people (i.e. non Arbëresh) had their polyphonic songs; however, the songs that the Arbëresh took with them from Albania and Morea were of different expression and form. The Arbëresh liturgical music and the Arbëresh traditional folk songs have been preserved and sung mostly within the churches but also in the secular form often sharing common stylistic characteristics between them. The most primitive and archaic form of Sicilian traditional folk music I was able to hear in Palermo, was an ancient style of folk singing formed with two descending tetrachords (mi–re–do–si/la–sol–fa–mi), in the style of a para-liturgical music. The Arbëresh do not sing this way in Sicily. In the Arbëresh towns of Sicily, only two types of music exist: the Byzantine and Paraliturgical:

> In the musical tradition of the Albanians of Sicily there are also important devotional and para-litugical repertoires. During the year, on the occasions of several holidays, ancient melodies alternate with more modern ones; the

> Arbëresh or Sicilian dialect texts alternate with Greek or Latin compositions; signs of Eastern tradition are interwoven with Western practices … These types of ceremonies are different from Greek and Byzantine rituals and they gradually caught on in past centuries due to the influence of interaction with Sicilian folk culture. In many cases they are traditional dialectal songs of nearby towns translated into Albanian. This repertoire proves how conservative the culture of the Arbëresh minority is. In fact, while in Sicilian communities those songs have been completely forgotten, in Albanian towns in Sicily they are still handed down in the Arbëresh versions (Garofalo 2004, 284).

Notes

[1] An Albanian populated village three kilometres from the town of Gjirokastër.
[2] Personal communication, Gjirokastër, April 2007.
[3] Upper and Lower Pogoni or Paleo-Pogoni (as the people call it) to the east of Gjirokastër, is situated between Albania and Greece, and in the villages of Poliçan and Sopik in particular where Albanians, Vlachs and Greek speaking ethnic groups live.
[4] Neço Muko (1899–1934) was from Himarë, in the south of Albania. His contribution to the creation of lyric songs in *internationalised* traditions and principally to the stylisation of the four-part multipart songs took Albanian song in a new direction.
[5] The poet Lefter Çipa was born in Piluri, Himarë in 1942.
[6] Personal communication with Aleksander Çipa (Lefter Çipa's son), May 2010.
[7] Another Tosk version for the denomination of the soloist parts is: *ia thotë* (says) for the leading voice and *ia mban* (holds) for the second soloist.
[8] The urban semi-professional ensembles known as *Saze* are spread throughout south Albania and extend to northern Greece, Epirus. The *saze* consists of one or two clarinets, a violin, a *llautë* (lute), an accordion and a *dajre* or *def* (frame drum). The multipart styles of the southern instrumental ensembles, in the way each instrument functions, correspond to the multipart singing styles of the south Albanian music. The two main instruments, the clarinet and violin, are used mainly for the melodic and polyphonic lines with an emphasis in its lyrical side. The polyphonic roles of the other members of the *saze* have different contrapuntal functions and consequently different descriptive titles; the violin, for example, "cuts" (*ia pret*) to the main melody of the clarinet, whereas the *llauta* "fills up" (*ia mbush*) or "holds" (*ia mban*) the tune, and the *def* sustains the rhythmic pulsation of the music. The *Saze* ensemble also includes singing in their performances; some of the *saze* musicians sing together as well as play. The solo singers, who are not members of the group, are very much in demand to join the *Saze* and perform with them.

The *Saze* groups have consolidated some formal instrumental structures among which the *kaba* occupies a special place. *Kaba* (which in Turkish means "thick", "coarse", "crude", also "dense") is in origin a *mourning* tune, as if the clarinet or

violin escorting the funeral was actually crying. This practice is found both among the gypsies and the indigenous people from south Albania and it is likely to have been borrowed from Byzantine and Ottoman traditions. There is substantial evidence that by the 14th century gypsy musicians gradually became settled in south Albania and Epirus and shaped the region's music. They introduced several instruments of the Eastern tradition and played their own tunes based on the Middle Eastern popular *makam* modes for family celebrations of the Muslims and Christians of the region. In the 20th century, *kaba* started to be practised not only at funerals, but appeared at dances and weddings as well as concert performances and was treated as a stylised genre. *Kaba* consists of two sections, the first slow, melancholic and in a free-moving style, the second, in a fixed tempo (tempo *giusto*), usually *Moderato*. The clarinettist or the solo violin players compose their own *kaba* but do not write it down. The leading instrumentalists use common expressive devices of regional patterns such as improvisation, descending slides, pentatonic developments and the minor seventh as a preferred frame interval of this genre. A different version of *kaba* is also found in northern Greek Epirus (*mirologi*), but it tends to be a kind of monophonic melodic line with a *koumpania* accompaniment, rather than a multipart rendition.

[9] Çabej uses the Albanian word "pykë" (wedge) to describe in a folkloric manner the triangular shaped wooden tool that separates two objects or portions of an object.

[10] Zeneli points out that "our Çam song is more open, the vibrations of the voice are required like light waves. The songs of an elegiac type, those which show history as well as those of a lamenting nature, should not be sung in a chest voice; the lyrical song should be sung in a high register, there are no lyrical songs which can be sung 'down'. All our songs are dance-songs. The Çamëri and Myzeqe songs are the same. I believe that Çamëria, Mallakastër, a little of Përmet, all the Korçë zone up to Macedonia and then descending to Myzeqe, are all one song with slight nuances for each zone. The Labs are completely different. Last year, in 2006, when I was visiting the Greek Çamëri, the people over there told me that it is the dialect that is missing in my Çam singing. I do not speak like them now and that is why I do not sing completely like them". Shaban Zeneli, personal communication, April 2007.

[11] Personal communication, 26 November 2009.

[12] The Romanian-Greek polarization seems to be counter-productive by not only fragmenting the Vlachs, but also exposing the fact that their elite, locally and regionally, is still weak for self-organization.

[13] Travelling in Albania in 1850, Edmund Spencer wrote about his impressions following a one-night stay in Kuchova, a small village at that time not far from the town of Berat: "As the shades of evening approached we got to the village of Kouschova, inhabited by a tribe of Wallachians … These good people, who always regard a Frank, from a similarity of language, as their compatriot, hospitably provided me with abundance of provisions. How singular is the tenacity with which man adheres to the language and the customs of his race. Although centuries upon centuries have passed since these people have been the slaves of successive

tyrants, still they are enabled to hold converse with the stranger in the bold, graphic language of ancient Rome; and truly, Pope Michaeli in his long flowing robes, full patriarchal beard, hooked nose, strongly marked features, majestic person, and fiery eye, was not an unworthy representative of a people who were once the lords of the world" (Spencer 150, 1851).

[14] Until recently I have defended the view that the term *Farsherot* (Rom. *Fărşerot*, Arom. *Farshărot*) is associated with the Farsala (Pharsala) area in Thessaly, Greece, and that some ethnomusicologists have mistakenly misinterpreted this term by thinking that it comes from the Albanian village of Frashër, north of Përmet. But, reading the Hammond diaries, kept by him in 1930, I extracted the following revelation which I found fascinating, but still did not sweep away the confusion:

"The Bouii are a cluster of Vlach tribes, one of which gave up the nomadic life many generations ago and settled down in southern Thessaly, where their descendents live today. They are called the Frasheriote Vlachs, a name that recalls their origin in Southern Albania; for Frater or Frashari (both forms are current) is an area northwest of Permet. It is very probable that the heart of Wallachia in the twelfth century was in the highlands by Lake Malik and Lake Prespa; for tradition associated the wealth of the Vlachs with two towns just the west of Lake Malik called Voscop ('shepherd's town') and Moskopol ('cowherd's town'). When the crusaders of the First Crusade passed through the Vlach area on their way from 'Adernobilis' (Hadrianopolis) in the valley of southern Drin to Kastoria in Macedonia, they must have been surprised to hear a form of Latin spoken as vernacular in these remote mountains" (Hammond 1983, 38).

Would the above quoted examination on the Frasheriot (Farsherot) Vlachs reflect reality? Nevertheless, despite the latter vague term, in this study I prefer to call this population either the more traditional denomination, Vlach, or a relatively recent denomination in Albania, Aromanian.

[15] Constantin Secară, a Romanian musicologist, studied Byzantine music at the National Music University in Bucharest and is a member of staff at the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore.

[16] Kefalovriso is an entirely Albanian Vlach village. In most houses, Aromanian/Vlach is still the dominant language.

[17] Personal communication, 2006.

[18] Nikolai Kaufman (b. 1925) is Bulgaria's foremost ethnomusicologist and folklorist.

[19] Personal communication, San Demetrio Corone, August 2006.

CHAPTER SIX

OTHER ISSUES DEALING WITH THE IMUS

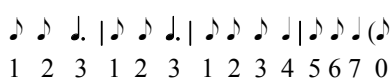
Poetry and Music in IMUS: Musical Metre

The musical metres of the IMUS are closely linked with their poetical metres. The Tosk IMUS, for example, is characterised by a broader musical phrase, horizontal movement and lyrical approach and as a result of that a six-foot trochee or a free rhythm over the long musical sections is required; these features are supported by a sustained sound, the iso, on the vowel "e". The Lab IMUS, on the other hand, imposes a rhythmic intensity and sound density to the iso, requiring in this way an eight syllable four-foot metre; the iso is not a sustained sound but a syllabic one, often using the text to create an incessant energy. It should, however, be noted that whilst the division between the Lab and Tosk IMUS is an important and indisputable distinction it does not cover the entire range of the IMUS. Within the IMUS of the Southwest Balkans many different traditions are closely associated with or derived from each other so that as well as Lab and Tosk there is also much overlap between the various ethnic groupings of Chams, Aromanian/Vlachs, Greek-speaking peoples inside Albanian frontiers, Greeks of the Greek Epirus and beyond, and the Chams (nowadays Christian) living in their former area of Thesprotia (Greek Epirus).

The musical metrical structure of the IMUS is a combination of two main types of metre: a) *definite* metre and b) *free* metre. The definite metres or rhythmic metres occur in two types: as *common* (simple) symmetrical metres, such as: 2/8, 4/8, 2/4 and 3/8, 3/4 and as *compound* asymmetrical (limping) metres as: 5/8 (2+3 or 3+2), 5/4 etc. There are other combinations of triple and duple metres, but the ones above are the most common. Free metres (or melismatic) occur in the majority of Tosk IMUS, particularly in the introduction of the song. The free metre is often like an absence of metre, but with some indications of fixed units of stress. Of the compound metres, 5/8 is the most common throughout South Albania. This is divided into two beats in each bar; one of the beats (at the beginning or at the end) is extended by an extra half-beat. The use and

accentuation of short metrical feet encourages asymmetrical musical metres such as 5/8. Very often a poetic metre can be transferred to a musical one, in which case the musical metre, particularly the 3/8 or even more common 5/8, dominate the poetic metre.

In his analysis of the metrical equivalences in Greek traditional vocal music Baud-Bovy has highlighted what he sees as some "confusion" in Father Émile Martin's work, particularly over the differences between the metrical and rhythmical points of view and the Father's contention that the Delphic Hymns should be notated as 6/8 rather than 5/8. Baud-Bovy contends that for the peasants of Albania these metres are perfectly natural. "One of the most characteristic dances of continental Greece is named τσάμιχος [tsamichos], which means the *dance of the Chams* (the Chams being one of the three ethnic groups from South Albania who, until 1944, lived in great numbers in Epirus)" (Baud-Bovy 1968, 4). Baud-Bovy acknowledges the work of Doris and Erich Stockmann who first recorded and presented some of this repertoire.[1] He takes as an example a song, published by the Stockmanns, in the following metrical type (the figures indicate the syllables of the stanza):



The most-used metres of the Albanian version of the dance of the Chams, *çamçe* (chamche), are those in free 7/8 (rubato), which means that the *saze* accompanying music should be closely related to the choreographic movements of the solo dancer. Conversely, the *chamikos* used in Greece is a slow dance (*Adagio* or *Lento*) in a heavily accentuated 3/4 metre. This is its most common rhythmic pattern:

Another dance similar to chamikos is *chakonia* in 5/4, also originating in Epirus. However, Baud-Bovy explains that in *chamikos songs* found in Greece, both musical metres, 5/8 and 6/8, occur. He mentions Peristeris as having collected two versions of the same wedding song in the province of Euritania in South Epirus. The first has the following rhyme:

6/8 ♪ ♩ ♩ ♪ | ♪ ♩ ♩. | and the other 5/8 ♪ ♪ ♩ ♪ | ♪ ♪ ♩ ♪ |
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Defending his view on the Albanian origin of the rhythmic type of some Epirote songs, Baud-Bovy assumed an infiltration of the 5/8 rhythm into Peloponnesian dances.

> It should not be forgotten that since at least 14th century populations of Albanian speakers existed in Southern Greece, particularly in Attica, the eastern Peloponnese, and the islands. After Greek independence, these populations of Arvanites (as they are called) were, for the most part, culturally assimilated through education, commerce, and military conscription, although their dialect of Albanian (Arvanitika) has survived to a limited extent (Hart 1999, 203).

Sathas, however, suggested that Albanian colonies were established not only as far as the Peloponnesus but, as he states: "I was inclined to regard the majority of the Greek Albanians [Greeks of Albanian origin] as a colony established at the end of the 6th century. Cypriot chronicles have taught me that Albanians existed in Cyprus since the 4th century" (Sathas 1883, LXXIV). There were sceptics who did not accept Sathas's theory, contending that the Albanians appeared in Greece only at the end of the 14th century. However, their line of reasoning is not reliable "since the establishment of the Albanians, not only in the Peloponnesus but also in the island of Cyprus, certainly goes back a thousand years before the date mentioned above" (Μαχαίρα/Machaira XV, 1881).

When some of the multipart songs began to be notated only as illustrations or examples of the theoretical works of Albanian musicologists, there were in my view instances of mishearing that have led to incorrect transcriptions of the field recordings. Equivocal time signatures were set even when a free metre with no bar-lines was probably required. More obvious is the use of 6/8 metre instead of the correct 3/8; in the latter case the rhythmic accents of the poetry would fall on the rhythmically stressed syllable in a more natural form. This "professional" habit has to a certain degree deformed the real sung metre, however, the oral transmission of these songs and a relative lack of interest in written notation amongst those who perform them, have meant that the tradition of these songs has endured largely unspoilt. The 3/8 time signature is one of the most commonly adopted musical metres among the South Albanian and North Epirus IMUS and it is used especially when accompanying sung dances. It is predominantly of an iambic nature 3/8 ♪♩ but it can be also found in

conversion to 5/8 ♪♪♪ ♩ musical metre, which, in my view, is more correct and gives more strength to the accented downbeats.

Poetic Metre and more on Baud-Bovy's observations

The Albanian scholar Eqrem Çabej has provided us with some firm definitions of the IMUS poetic metre:

> The regular metre of the Tosk verse line is a six-foot trochee … while the usual metre of the Lab verse line is a four-foot trochee, and some Aromanian ethnic groups sing almost like the Albanian Tosks, whereas the Greeks of Epirus sing somewhat similarly to the Labs. The "lenders" here are the Albanians since other Aromanians and Greeks, who do not live close to the Albanians, are unfamiliar with these melodies … Greeks have taken from the Albanians dances, such as, άρβανίτικο (shqiptarçe), τσάμικο (çamçe) and χειμαιότικο (himariotçe); Çabej 1975, 130–131.

I am not entirely convinced about the "lenders" and the "borrowers" since I very much believe that a great part of the Southwest Balkan region practised the IMUS in their own tongues, despite the fact that the predominance of the trochaic accentuation was closer to the nature of Albanian than to the Greek. Çabej has also pointed out that the Ottoman influence that superseded that of Byzantium, including the Islamisation of several parts of the Balkans, represented a new historical phenomenon which had an important impact on the traditional poetry of the area; "the songs and motifs of the Byzantine time continued to live among the Muslims, however, wearing a new dress" (Çabej 1975, 123). Çabej tells us that despite its constant development as an orally-transmitted tradition, the IMUS belong to a pre-Ottoman culture, identified by their use of the metrical nuclei of poetry and music from this period.

Practised mainly in Albanian, as well as in Greek and Aromanian/Vlach languages, the IMUS poetry reflects the way the words are attached to the melody. Baud-Bovy in a summary of an article writes:

> Regions, in which populations of different race and language live in close contact, are of special interest for the ethnomusicologist. Such is the case in North Epirus. Studying the polyphony and the poetic rhythm of the folksong of this area, one can readily recognise the existence of a common repertory among the Greeks and the Albanians, strongly influenced by the similarity of the performance of the bagpipe, which seems to conform more closely to the verbal accentuation of Albanian than to Greek (Baud-Bovy 1968/1971, 126).

Baud-Bovy writes that "the rhythms of Albanian and Greek languages are as dramatically opposed as those of German and French, the former being 'trochaic', with descending accentuation, the latter being iambic, i.e. with rising accentuation" (Baud-Bovy 1968, 122). It should be stressed that Baud-Bovy was an excellent observer of the verbal metric patterns and their relationship between Albanian and Greek. His opinion on the significant role of the trochaic foot in the IMUS matches Çabej's proposal on the same matter (also written towards the end of the 1960s); "Let us assume at this stage, that South Albanians and North Epirotes share a common repertoire of polyphonic songs, which is in all likelihood, due to an imitation of bagpipe playing and that by its predominantly trochaic accentuation, it is better suited to the rhythm of Albanian than to the rhythm of the Greek language" (Baud-Bovy 1968, 123). Referring to the similarity between the vocal iso(n) and the bagpipe playing, Baud-Bovy intends to correlate the immutable choral drone of the multipart singing with the instrumental drone. As will be discussed later, he has also revealed that the sixteen syllable (two eight syllables) verse line of the trochaic scheme used in the Albanian and Aromanian/Vlach IMUS texts, in some parts of Greece (Thessaly and Peloponnesus), has been adapted to a fifteen syllable iambic (with a caesura after the eighth) by regarding the first syllable sound as an anacrusis. These so called "political verses" of fifteen syllables are known to have been as popular in Byzantine poetry as the eight syllable trochaic.

Although Baud-Bovy's analysis below is concerned with monodic singing rather than the IMUS, the cross-language similarities and differences apply to IMUS too. In the regions of the Southwest Balkans where not only Albanians but also Greek and Vlach populations live, the poetic metre based on the octosyllabic line is found in both forms, trochaic and iambic. Analysing a dance presented by Theodoros Papaspyropoulos, published in 1933 by G. Lambelet, Baud-Bovy comments that this Peloponnesian dance is attributed to Crete and that the editors named it as a Cretan rhythm of five units, however, in another recording it was qualified as "Tanz aus Zakoniá". It was Papaspyropoulos, adds Baud-Bovy, who set the words to the melody of this dance and then he comments that "these octosyllabic trochaics are not suited to its natural rhythm, the duration accent type[2] which affects the 4th and 8th syllables suggests a rather iambic rhythm, taking into account the fact that in the Greek song, the initial, even an unstressed one for the whole hemistich is always inclined to be musically accentuated. This rhythmical scheme, a

unique phenomenon in the Greek song, was again found in Epirus" (Baud-Bovy 1972, 155).

In another case, in a wedding song recorded in the Eparchy of Paramythia, Baud-Bovy found that the text-music rhythmical rapport was identical. In a song, this time coming originally from Albania, the same octosyllabic structure was applied, however, not to the trochaic but to the iambic. All the above mentioned songs have similarities, such as trochaic or iambic poetic metres, octosyllable verse lines, the 5/8 time signatures or modal range outlines. The fact that the opposed accentuations as the trochaic and iambic octosyllables are applied to the same musical scheme shows, in Baud-Bovy's argument, that this is an exceptional phenomenon in Greek song (see below for more details on this).

Continuing his analysis of the Albanian songs of North Epirus, Baud-Bovy insisted that they are an exceptional phenomenon in the Greek repertoire in that they feature a strange polyphony or a triphony (as he calls the IMUS) comprising the two soloist voices and the third, a drone. This "is a characteristic of the men's songs of the Cham people recorded by Mr. and Mrs. Stockmann. We can therefore be certain that the above actually originated from Albania and were adopted by the Greeks, given that both peoples had lived for long periods in close cultural symbiosis" (Baud-Bovy 1972, 158).

In his discussion of the songs which originated from Albania and were adopted by the Greeks (see the introductory citation at the start of Chapter 4), and through his analysis of other elements, such as the poetic metre (trochaic and iambic) and musical metre (Peloponnesian dances of five units), Baud-Bovy has argued that the structure of these songs was initially alien to Greece. He suggests that over the decades and centuries this structure was introduced and assimilated into the local Peloponnesian repertoire, thereby becoming increasingly Hellenised. Baud-Bovy's account is persuasive and this process may have started at the end of 14th century when significant Albanian settlements came to populate the Peloponnesus. It was not just the Morea (Peloponnesus) where the Albanians migrated in the middle of the 14th century; before that, apart from Epirus, they were settled in great numbers in Thessaly, Acarnania and Aetolia, and, in several regions they constituted the majority of the population**.** On the issue of transplanting a trochaic metre into iambic, a necessity for Greek song, Baud-Bovy has explained how this natural process, based on quantitative metre or duration of a syllable, is accomplished by using an upbeat: "This use, for an identical musical pattern of two lines presenting such drastically different accentuations as an eight-syllable iambic and trochaic, is an exceptional phenomenon in the

Greek song repertoire, in which a singer normally moves from a trochaic to an iambic rhythm by the use of the upbeat" (Baud-Bovy 1972, 156).

In the IMUS poetry the rhythmic accents generally correspond with the tonic accents of the words, and they also, as a rule, fall on the penultimate syllable of the verse line. The poetic metre used in the IMUS (mostly octosyllabic) is mainly trochaic and iambic and while being adapted to the Albanian and Greek languages, leaves its marks in the verse line accentuation. Lord Byron in the Notes of his poem "Childe Harold", Canto II, included two songs with altogether thirty-eight octosyllabic verse lines in Albanian: "It is observed that the Arnaut is not a *written* language; the words of this song, therefore, as the one which follows, are spelt according to their pronunciation. They are copied by one who speaks and understands the dialect perfectly, and who is a native of Athens" (Lord Byron 1980, 196–197). I am quoting the first two–line stanza of Lord Byron's spelt pronunciation of the Albanian language: *Ndi sefda tinde ulavossa/Vettimi upri ve lofsa* (I am wounded by thy love, and have loved but to scorch myself), which I assume in modern Albanian should be: "*Ndë sevdan tënde'u plagosa/Vetëmë u përvëlofsha*"; a clear octosyllabic verse. Lord Byron noted that "as a specimen of the Albanian or Arnaut dialect of the Illyric, I here insert two of their most popular choral songs, which are generally chaunted in dancing by men or women indiscriminately". Lord Byron also described a choral song which is "sung in dancing", a prototype of the South Albanian multipart sung dance of an octosyllabic rhythm; "it is manly and requires wonderful agility. It is very distinct from the stupid Romaika, the dull roundabout of the Greeks" (Byron 1980, 194–195). However, as a poet Lord Byron allowed himself to offer emotional depictions and create a distance between the entertained guest, Harold (Byron himself), and the dancing Albanians, with their "scream" ballad, through the use of different poetic forms; Harold speaks in the Spenserian stanza and the Albanians sing a war song of four lines and four accents in a ballad stanza.

There has been much heated discussion concerning the origins of the metric patterns, particularly about the usage of iambic foot in the IMUS. Beniamin Kruta has stated that "the 3/8 rhythm, of a typical iambic pattern, which is found in the majority of the Mediterranean traditional songs and dances, has its origin in the ancient Illyrian period. The confirmation comes from the Athénée (220 BC) where it is said that the Molossians 'used to practise a dance of an iambic type, known as the *Molossian Iamb*, a faster dance compared to that of the dactylic type'" (Kruta 1981, 170). Nitsiakos and Mantzos, who have consistently been involved in a debate

over the politicization of polyphonic singing in both Greece and Albania, have extracted the following fragment from Kruta's examination:

> Kruta concludes that the roots of polyphonic singing are to be found in the supposed Illyrian past of the modern Albanians. It is worth noting here, that the above conclusion is based on a single quotation from *Deipnosophistae*, where a type of iambic metre is described as Molossean iambic (The Molosse were one of the Illyrian tribes according to official Albanian history, or an Epirote tribe, and thus Greek, according to the Greek version). The fact that this metre is also widely found in polyphonic singing seems enough for Kruta to justify his claim. The fact that the argument is identical with the one used by Greek scholars (referring in fact to the same texts) in order to prove the ancient Greek genealogy of polyphonic singing, shows the common underlying discourse on the cultural ownership. As is only to be expected, in this image of polyphonic singing, there is no place for traditions that cannot be incorporated into the national body. Thus, in the geography of the polyphonic singing, as devised by Kruta, there is no reference to the Greek minority residing on the Greek-Albanian border, and, likewise, Greek scholars by-pass the polyphonic tradition of the Chams, and Albanian minority residing south east of the Greek-Albanian border, in villages between Igoumenitsa and Preveza (Nitsiakos & Mantzos 2003, 206).

Nitsiakos and Mantzos provide an answer of their own to this question: "On the basis of the aforementioned theoretical considerations, we shall proceed now to present a case study, showing how two opposing and antagonistic nation-states have dealt with the reality of the shared cultured tradition in their border zone" (Nitsiakos & Mantzos 2003, 195). This was the reality in a period when no communication between Albania and Greece existed. Faced with the restrictions of the "Iron Curtain" period, in Albania, as in other "Socialist" countries, it was difficult to gather much information on what was happening in Greece; self-censorship became second nature for the majority of musicologists, artists and writers. Nationalist ideology had a strong indoctrinatory influence on many writers who came to believe it was their duty to align their work with the defence of a national cause which was under pressure from foreign criticism and attack. Knowing Kruta personally and judging against the political context of the time, I think that any of his comments should be understood as an attempt to compromise with totalitarian reality for the sake of continuing his significant work.

It was not only the trochaic but also the iambic metre, found in the IMUS that has caught the attention of the scholars. The pursuit of iambic possession represents, in part, an attempt to prove that the IMUS has been

practised since the times of Greek ancient music. Loli has stressed that "a pure ancient trochaic nucleus is not encountered except when in combination with an iambic; in this case we find the trochaic expression transitory while the iambic remaining constant" (Loli 2006, 49). This argument suggests that the trochaic metre used in the IMUS may belong to a later time, probably Byzantine.

Discussing the Dropull songs, which belong in a broader sense to the Gjirokastër IMUS, with the difference that they are sung in Greek, and tend sometimes to use instrumental accompaniment for their multipart singing, Peristeris points out that "it is the 3/8 rhythm, the ancient Greek iambic rhythm, which dominates these [Dropull] songs: ♪♩. This rhythm is also found as ♪♪♪" (Peristeris 1964, 52). It is not easy to establish how old the Albanian iamb used in IMUS is, but it could be at least as old as the Dropull multipart singing, since it was practised in the same geographic area by neighbouring ethnic groups. However, the formal structure of the IMUS seems to be more consolidated in the Albanian sung versions than the Greek ones and is also used across a much wider Albanian territory. Lloyd questions whether these forms of multipart singing may "have best survived in the areas of least change, such as south Albania and the remoter parts of Macedonia" (Lloyd 1961, 145). Kruta suggests that in the Lab polyphony "the melodic line of the first voice [soloist] is characterised by a rhythmic pattern of a stable iambic (♪♩). Conversely, in relation to the first voice, the second one employs quite a supple and contrasted rhythmic pattern. The iambic rhythmic pattern is subdivided into smaller rhythmic values" (Kruta 1981, 169).

Pentatonicism

The pentatonic system or the pentatonic modes, applied in both the multipart singing and monodic singing of the Southwest Balkans, are those characterised by a vocal (or instrumental) line based on anhemitonic modes (without semitones). Such scales or modes have been found all over the world in a wide variety of different cultures. The Southwest Balkans is one region where the archaic and rural musical tradition developed alongside pentatonic expression. The pentatonic multipart form of singing and the use of microtones and some characteristic clashes of overtones, initially without the use of iso and later with the use of iso, belong to an earlier stratum associated with shepherd-farming rituals of Pagan origin.[3] As the iso evolved alongside pentatonic tunes the Southwest Balkan IMUS was forming its own specific features and elaborated structures in the nature of a stylish pentatonic system.

The pentatonic modes of the Southwest Balkan region, based on the intervals of major seconds and minor thirds, can be grouped into smaller constructions, such as *tetratonic*, *tritonic* and *bitonic*, and according to the tonal function of their *finalis*, a considerable number of scales can be produced. The pentatonic spectrum also reveals some distinctive characteristics, as in the style of singing and manner of performance, as well as in dialect, sentiment and shape. A multipart song embedded in a pentatonic mode comprises a simple and relatively limited scale-range, particularly in its second half, group singing part, of the formal structure. The representative elements such as *melodic formulae*, *motifs* and a preference for unison cadences are, probably, the most distinctive features of the pentatonic modes used in Albania and partly in the north of Greek Epirus. Spiro Shetuni has observed that "the pentatonic structure of the Tosk traditional music is mono-modal, meaning that melodic lines belong to a single mode/scale" (Shetuni 38, 2011) and that the "Lab traditional music is bimodal, meaning that melodic lines belong to two different modes/scales" (Shetuni 43, 2011).

Among the IMUS, the most-used pentatonic modes are type A, which covers the range of a minor seventh and types B and B1, which cover the range of a major sixth; see Notated Examples 16A (Types A, B, B1). The latter types have probably a wider regional application than type A. Type A, a minor mode, is used in Labëri, Himarë, the Gjirokastër area, Pogoni, Paramithi and elsewhere, while type B, a major mode, is used in the Korçë and the Prespë areas, Përmet and Leskovik and a few places around Konitsa. Types B and B1 are characterised by a larger ambit then type *A*. Pentatonic modes can be built on different (inverted) tonics and each of these new tonics, i.e., new succession of degrees, has a typical feature and is used for a different emphasis in different ethnic regions. Although only three types of the most common pentatonic modes are categorised here, other types also exist but a detailed analysis would go beyond the scope of this research which is focused mainly on the iso feature.

Amongst the non-Albanian scholars who have dealt with the multipart singing of the Albanian speaking populations, Sugarman holds a special place and her analysis on the pentatonic modes is particularly interesting. Her designation of the scalar outlines of the three types of pentatonic scales according to their usage, is conceived as characteristically descending phrases "from a higher pitch to the drone note, or they [may] begin and end on the drone note, forming an arched contour" (Sugarman 1997, 66), see Notated Example 16B. Sugarman bases her scheme on "the two solo lines of any song drawn from the pitches of a pentatonic scale …

Singers may, however, 'decorate' (*zbukurojnë*) the melody with rapid, melismatic elements that employ pitches outside the basic scale" (Sugarman 1997, 66).

There are parallels to be found between several types of pentatonic modes and multipart styles of South Albania, northern Greece and the Prespa populations (Albanian and non-Albanian) in the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM). Anhemitonic pentatonic genus is also found in the repertoire of the Aromanian speaking populations of northern Pindus. Baud-Bovy has asserted that in Western Thessaly and eastern Epirus he has not only encountered and registered songs of genus but thinks that the whole repertoire of this particular area "is almost exclusively anhemitonic" (Baud-Bovy 160, 1968). To provide a more complete picture of the Southwest Balkan area, it should be added that not only the traditional vocal music but also the instrumental, such as the instrumental laments in a free metre, the Albanian *kaba* and Greek Epirotic *mirologia*, have striking similarities in the use of their pentatonic scale structures and definite melodic formulae.

When discussing the assimilation of the north Epirote's songs of pentatonic genus into the Peloponnesus local repertoire (see the beginning of Chapter 4), Baud-Bovy maintains that "the pentatonism was superseded by heptatonism and the tyrant of the Greek song, the iambic verse of fifteen-syllables, has replaced the eight-syllable with the seven-syllable trochaic verse" (Baud-Bovy 1972, 158–159). He also explains that it was not only the replacement of pentatonism with heptatonism, but also the extension of the ambit which from a fourth or a fifth reached an octave.

Curt Sachs has investigated the tuning of the ancient Greek lyre and in an article on instrumental notation introduced the theory that this instrument had a standard pentatonic *accordatura* (tuning); "The lyre, chief instrument of the Greeks, was pentatonic without semitones and preserved its archaic tuning even when the number of its strings increased beyond five" (Sachs 1943, 204). According to the ancient lyre *accordatura* the six strings of the instrument were tuned to a pentatonic scale without semitones starting on the E (see Notated Example 16C). The role of instruments was essentially to double the line of the song. Baud-Bovy associates the descending "E mode" with the Doric (Dorian) mode of the ancient Greeks and concludes, probably in the same way as Plato, that Doric did not originally have semitones (Baud-Bovy 1968, 180). He adds that in Thessaly and Epirus the anhemitonic mode is widely spread, while in some parts of Epirus as well as in Macedonia, Roumeli and Peloponnesus both pentatonic systems, anhemitonic and hemitonic, coexist.

It is Katsanevaki who broadly articulates the argument that where the pentatonic scales occur, among the Vlach-speaking and Greek-speaking populations of the northern Pindus region, these scales "can be divided into two kinds: a) hemitonic pentatonic scales and b) anhemitonic pentatonic scales" (Katsanevaki 2005, 213). Katsanevaki explains that "the first clear evidence of the existence of a hemitonic pentatonic system in the ancient Greek world is to be found in the work 'On Music' by the pseudo-Plutarch" (Katsanevaki 2005, 226). She believes that Baud-Bovy confounds, at least in one part, the anhemitonic system with enharmonic genus when he is referring to the invention of enharmonic genus by Olympus in "On Music". However, she does state that although Baud-Bovy reached a false conclusion in that respect, "he was not mistaken in turning his attention to the central mountainous zone of Greece, i.e. the Pindus mountain range, in search of the most archaic forms of modern Greek culture" (Katsanevaki 2005, 228). It is true that the musical tradition of northern Pindus not only has direct links with "the general musical tradition of the region of Epirus, whose northern part now lies in what is today Albania, and whose southern part lies within the borders of modern Greece" (Katsanevaki 2005, 209), but as far as the pentatonic anhemitonic mode and its practice is concerned, it encompasses a broader geographical area of the Southwest Balkans where apart from the Greeks, Albanians and Vlachs, other populations such as the Bulgarians and west Romanians live.

The IMUS and its anhemitonic pentatonic application seem to be particularly richly developed in the Albanian populated areas. In the Labëri and Gjirokastër regions, in particular, some pentatonic melodies of the three soloist voices in relation with the iso are "harmonised" by a high degree of dissonant intervals with horizontal clashes of minor and major seconds. The bimodality or polymodality with an emphasis on minor shades, used mostly around the Lab areas, becomes one of the distinguishing features of this kind of pentatonicism. The monomodality (using only one keynote), which can sometimes be of an ecstatic expression, is a widespread practice used predominantly around the Tosk and Cham areas. Being the most prevalent melodic and modal attribute of the IMUS of the Southwest Balkans in general and Albania in particular, pentatonicism has been meticulously studied by a number of Albanian ethnomusicologists. They have produced a profound and expansive analysis of the South Albanian IMUS styles with many providing their own explanations and classifications of the specific functions of pentatonic modes; in other words, presenting the IMUS pentatonicism as being often based on different combinations of intervals and root notes.

Communal Social Activity Aspect

Participation, in a genuine and ecumenical sense, is an old phenomenon which has been reflected in the musical iso(n). Participation is a universal way of sharing, joining and strengthening the sense of community and it appears that a basic need of human nature is to participate. A participatory culture is important in the IMUS and the participatory element has been associated with the iso(n), an element of heterophonic musical design. The IMUS structure involves two or three soloists engaged in a kind of musical interaction, "call and response" interplay, backed by the participation of the vocal iso. "Songs of Toskëria [South Albania] are polyphonic, choral, social songs … a symbolic expression not of solitary dwelling, but of the community" (Çabej 1975, 129). In its early period the IMUS was used only at family or communal social gatherings or as Broughton put it, "the warriors practised their songs as a kind of relaxation or entertainment after their actions in the 'common' Albanian and Greek territories" (Broughton 1855, 28). As a shared collective heritage, such music is something of a cultural necessity for the populations where it is practised and it is often used at important events such as weddings and funerals as well as in the many occasions of everyday life.

The songs are functional and closely bound to specific customs, and people give IMUS the place of honour in their festivities. Initially the IMUS was practised exclusively by men, but by the second half of the 20th century women were taking part and soon mixed groups of men, women, boys and girls, were being formed. Being initially associated with indoor group singing around a communal table (or around an outdoor fire), during the post-WWII period this repertory was transformed into festival-type singing. It was appropriated into an institutionalised ensemble culture under the controlling forces of state patronage and state censorship, a feature that developed along socialist lines.

The multipart expression, which covers a significant geographical area of the Southwest Balkans, is characterised by a collective sense of community and its importance as a social activity is a living manifestation of the group memory. Analysing the multipart singing of the Prespa Albanian communities, Sugarman points out that "although only one person 'sings' or leads a song, all present perform it, with those providing the drone serving simultaneously as participants in the song and as audience for the soloists" (Sugarman 1997, 221). In South Albania when people gather together just for pleasure or to celebrate an "unofficial" event, the leader of the IMUS often encourages the audience members to support the soloists' singing by participating in holding an iso. In the more

traditional audience participatory situation of the IMUS, the *marrës* (taker) among the Labs or *hedhës* (thrower) among the Tosks calls the "non-performers" to act/participate and the audience members respond. Interaction between the IMUS "official" performers and the audience in a community event can be characterised as a social occurrence where audience members interact with a performer directly or indirectly.

Sugarman has also suggested that "within the framework of any but the most intimate gathering, however, Presparë tend to regard singing as the very antithesis of conversation, and as symbolising intentions and values opposed to those expressed through speech" (Sugarman 1997, 219).

Cula-diare, was it an Ancient "Drone" and Pentatonic Instrument?

Among some Albanian ethnomusicologists several confident pronouncements about the age and function of the *cula diare* folk instrument have been expressed, including the possibility of its existence during the 6th and 5th centuries BC or that this instrument is a product of multipart pentatonic singing and symbolises the essence of this culture; thus its construction mirrors the structure of this type of singing in south Albania. Such arguments may be true or apocryphal, but at present they should be treated with more than a little scepticism.

The different types of folk diaphonic aerophone instruments with two pipes, one for the tune (chanter) and the other for the drone/iso, which are found in the present South Albanian territories, are, in addition to the *cula-diare*, the *bishnica* and *gajde*. The *cula-diare*, *cula-dyjare*, *cyla-diare* or *bicula*, (all variants of these names identify a kind of double-flute instrument), are mainly found in the regions of Southwest Albania (see Fig. 01). A similar type of instrument is also found in other Balkan countries. A *dvojnica,* for example, is another double-pipe flute made from a single piece of wood that can be found in Serbia; *dvojanka*, a double-pipe flute is found in Slovakia and the *fluier gemănat* in Romania.

These types of wind instruments, such as folk flutes and oboes with parallel double-pipes or divergent double-pipes, existed in ancient Egypt and some original instruments have survived to this day. An instrument of this type with parallel pipes, called *zummara,* resembles the modern Egyptian folk clarinet (in Albania a north-western folk double-clarinet is called a *zumare*), whereas the ancient Greek *aulos*, a double-reed instrument, has double diverging pipes (see Fig. 02A and 02B). Describing the structure of the *cula-diare*, Sokoli has remarked that "one pipe serves for melody and the other only for the drone/iso, i.e. a pedal" (Sokoli 1965,

135). In a later book about the same instrument, Sokoli and Miso explained its double pipe functions: "the right-hand pipe which has five finger-holes 'takes' the melody, whereas the other [left] with three finger-holes 'answers' it" (Sokoli & Miso 1991, 110). Circular breathing allows the player to continually blow air from his mouth (without ever stopping for breath) and produce an uninterrupted drone.

The fact that the *cula-diare* is mainly found in the regions of Southwest Albania which are inhabited by the Lab peoples and that the latter are often considered to be the guardians of the IMUS does not necessarily mean that this instrument reflects the ancient pentatonic and iso practices of this area. In my view, the *cula-diare* has been adapted to the pentatonic expression of the region's identity. Its "iso" pipe, i.e. the pipe which provides a kind of ornamental drone (a fluctuating sound that continuously moves up and down within the interval of a third, embellished with grace notes and appoggiaturas in polyphonic counterpoint style), apart from functioning as such in the playing of this instrument, has also acquired the performing styles and expression of the IMUS. There is also little evidence that the *cula-diare* is of ancient origin as there is for the *aulos*. The theory which often links the instruments and their music with the purely primitive singing as a proof of their coexistence cannot be fully supported as a convincing explanation. In analysing the three polyphonic forms of multipart singing, the drone, ostinato and heterophony, Hornbostel argued against some of those ideas which suggest that the drone (bordun) is exclusively of an instrumental origin, he pointed out that "a purely vocal Bordun in the primitive singing with no relation to the instrumental drone can be found" (Hornbostel 1909, 298–303).

The Bell Sounding Question

The role of timbre and frequency fluctuations, as characteristics of IMUS which belonged to the Albanian, Aromanian and Greek shepherd-farming societies, consisted of an archaic style of singing, very often imitating the environmental settings and the sound of sheep-bells ringing. Çabej points out that:

> The acoustic impression that the Lab song creates can be compared to the bell ringing of sheep. Like the heavy and deep sound of the ram bells, whose assortment in ringing is important for the shepherd, since it should be distinct from the general sound of the many and ordinary sheep bell-ringing. So it is distinct in the Lab song as the high voice of the one who "takes it" (the song), and the as low voice, "trembling" like a bell, of the

> one who "answers", from the chorus of other singers which runs strongly, broadly and monotonously. We do not think we are wrong if we say that the shepherds have created their own song, based without knowing on the much loved and widespread ringing of the bells. …
>
> The common metre of the Lab song verse is a four trochaic foot line of eight syllables. This verse line, which encompasses Albanian, Vlach and Bulgarian song, as well as the Greek, was spread out across Byzantine literature and according to Dietrich, is of Byzantine origin. We also encounter the same in the tradition of the north Albanian song (Çabej 1975, 131).

Brandl, in one of his articles, concludes that "although the emergence of *roughness diaphony* from the agro-pastoral culture (shepherds yelling) in relation to village-orientated life should have been the basic factor of the development of this style, the presence of the sounding of church bells shows that a newer form could be a relatively late development, perhaps mediaeval" (Brandl 1990, 63). A relationship between the frequency fluctuations (trembling) of the iso characteristic in IMUS and the sounding of church bells, determined as psycho-acoustical or extra-musical occurrence, has been proposed in recent times in scholarly works by Messner (1980), Brandl (1990) and Ambrazevičius (2005). Being established as a fundamental frequency over which soloist parts alternate in a narrow range, the interference of the drone may evoke the sensation of roughness. The beats which can be perceived when the interference is slightly different in frequency are characteristic for soundings, the IMUS and church bells. Examining the recent theories that the iso(n) style probably derives from the sound of bells in the Byzantine church, Andrea Kirkby has stated that "this style of singing imitates Greek church bells; on the other hand, some theorists have suggested that the Greek copied their bell-ringing from the Albanian singers" (Andrea Kirkby 1999, CD booklet text). Thomas J. Mathiesen also notes that in Epirus a diaphonic style with choral drone in three parts as well as micro-intervals are employed; "here, as elsewhere, it [the style] imitates the sound of Byzantine bells" (Mathiesen, Grove Music Online 2007). However, parallels in sounding of IMUS and church bells are quite exciting but, in my view, hardly probable. Brandl puts forward the hypothesis of "sound-magic" which is based on the popular expression that "it should sound like bells", and after making a meticulous analysis on acoustical measurements and psycho-acoustical qualities of dissonance, concludes that the popular expression "it should sound like bells", should be understood as referring to "church bells and not sheep bells" (Brandl 1990, 61).

However, the stereophonic and monophonic sounds or styles of singing imitating church bells could also be perceived as being influenced by the social-pastoral contexts which dominated the South Albanian and North Epirus region from the second millennium AD onwards. In this remote mountainous area, apart from the ringing of the church bells, the interaction between nomadic shepherds and their herds, i.e. the imitation and reproduction of the bell-ringing of sheep with its distinctive timbre of an environmental character should also be taken into consideration. Kruta explains, although regrettably without making any acoustical measurements, that after selecting a unison tuning and a series of "harmonious major seconds" of the bell-ringing of sheep, the shepherds affirm:

> "The voices are deafening" (*ju hahen zërat*) or the "voices are quarrelling" (*ju grinden zërat*) as if the "the sheep are at odds" … It cannot be neglected that the term "bells"[4] (*këmborë*) is often used by singers to refer to the second part in the two- or three-part singing. The part-singers often say: "My voice adapts better to the sheep bell", which means it is better suited for the second part. They also say: "Since the bell does not match, the voices are lost", which means that if the voice, from the vocal point of view, is weak or faulty, it creates discordance for the whole group. The second part/voice is very important especially in its role as a guide to the ison group when the *hé hé* passage is sung, as all voices start rolling down to unison. Also, the timbre of the Lab songs, according to this line of reasoning, resembles the sound of the bell-ringing of herds (Kruta 1981, 169–170).

Notes

[1] This was, in fact, the first scientific expedition for sound-recording Albanian folk music. The expedition, which took place in 1957, was a joint venture of the Institut für Deutsche Volkskunde, Berlin, and the Albanian Ministry of Culture. It consisted of the Albanian musicologists Ramadan Sokoli and Albert Paparisto, and on the German side, Erich Stockmann, Wilfred Fiedler (linguist) and Johannes Kyritz (technician).

[2] Classical metre, as in ancient Greek and Latin, was *quantitative* (i.e. the metre depended not on stress but on the "quantity" or duration of a syllable and the foot consisted of "long" and "short" syllables).

[3] The term "Pagan" is used here in the sense that most shepherd-farming populations of the Southwest Balkans, by the end of the 4th century AD, had still not accepted Christianity. The tolerant Pagan cults pursued their own practices, favoring their gods and traditions. Even after the Byzantine religion had been fully introduced into the Southwest Balkans, the isolated survival of Pagan rites continued until much later.

[4] "Bells", in Albanian is *këmborë*, *kambanë*, from the same family as in Italian *campana*.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BYZANTINE CHANTING, THE ISON, AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO ALBANIAN LAND

When the ison was initially used in Byzantine chanting it only sustained the chant in a straight line in a pedal-note fashion. As in the IMUS the drone was an unchangeable underlying tone, which is different from the present-day Byzantine chanting; its main role, apart from functioning as the key (basic) note was to allow for participation without having any intention that this second voice would create, in a technical sense, polyphony. In Mount Athos, where Late Byzantine Period singing is practised, the practitioners are trying to preserve the earlier tradition of Byzantine chanting where no harmonic shifts are applied, so the ison is a basic one and does not have a harmonic or rational role, but is, more than anything else, participatory.

The drone/ison reflects the way one participates in the singing. It is of a heterophonic design, which means nothing but humming along. A later form of drone, based on tetrachord and pentachord mode changes or vertical harmonisation and elaborated by the different schools of thought who formalized it, is a later development coming after the Byzantine classical period.[1] The introduction of Oktoechos in Byzantine chant dealt with the principles of composition based on modal formulae. Later on, the *organa* (vocal organum) were added to these chants and later still they began to be accompanied by a drone bass.[2] Restating this line of reasoning, it could be said that the Byzantine chanting was originally monophonic or monodic, that is not harmonized, but a drone-singing or choral ison was added below the melody in order to accompany liturgical singing and also to sustain the "root" of the Tone/Mode (which the choir intones and chanting). With the addition of the ison it became more "dependent" on the harmony. This was a fundamental change in the Byzantine church music, breaking the existing barriers of monophonic tradition.

The ison corresponds to each Mode (Tone) as its basis and changes when the melody requires it. The intermittent change of the ison should not be misinterpreted as a simple technical effect for harmonically

supporting the basis of the mode, creating cadences or emphasizing the role of the words and their accents, but as a movement, which also carries extra-musical qualities and principles. However, there is no strict rule for this since in slow pieces, despite the movement up and down of the melody, the ison may remain fixed on the base. The ison was not written down as notation (neume) for most of its existence and the earliest record in scores is apparently as late as the 19th century, the first evidence, in fact, of written ison dates around the beginning of the 20th century. In a discussion on Byzantine music from 14 December 1954, the notable modern scholar Egon Wellesz (1885–1974) stated "that we had no reference showing when the drone, the *Ison*, was introduced into Byzantine music; presumably the practice came from the East and may date back to the time of the Arab conquest of Palestine and Syria; that he [the Lecturer] thought that the organum derived from the Eastern drone" (Wellesz 1954, 27). Oliver Strunk has pointed out that "we have no clear testimony to the practice of the ison singing—the improvised addition of a bourdon-like second voice—until after the Turkish conquest. Again during the period we are considering it was a purely diatonic music" (Strunk 1977, 300). Other scholars also theorise that the earliest practice of the drone may have begun during pre-Turkish/Ottoman times. This is of course not easy to establish, however, some suppositions may help to understand the development of the ison's stylistic interpretation over several centuries from the Byzantine to the modern Greek practice. As far as the melody types and musical phrases of Byzantine music are concerned, Wellesz suggested that they "derived from the Syrian—introduced into the Balkan countries along the pilgrim-routes which by-passed Constantinople—the occurrence of an identical principle of composition in both Syria and Serbia" (Wellesz 1949, 269). Wellesz "had to refute as strongly as possible the notion that Byzantine music represented a continuation of ancient Greek music. He pointed to the evidence in studies of literature, liturgical developments, and the fine arts indicating the enormous significance of the Near East, though in studies of music there was a scarcity of reliable research in this vast area" (Velimirović 1976, 269). Talking on the conditions of the Byzantine Church under the Turks, Wellesz pointed out: "The priests had to make their living by teaching the sons of the Turkish Overlords to sing Turkish music, and so took up their way of singing. The present style of singing in the Greek churches therefore differs widely from the Byzantine tradition" (Wellesz 1954, 27). On the same Ottoman influence Gallop commented: "Oriental influences, such as affected church-music in the 17th century, have resulted in the introduction of the chromatic augmented second into the tetrachord, and

the Byzantine modes are thereby given a decidedly eastern colouring" (Gallop 1935, 97).

The Neo-Byzantine chanting employs non-diatonic ("chromatic") intervals containing larger or smaller augmented seconds, particularly in the lower "soft" and "hard" tetrachords where the outer degrees remain stable at the interval of the perfect fourth and the two middle degrees are those which may fluctuate in pitch. The Neo-Byzantine chant, as codified by Chrysanthos at the beginning of the 19th century and later modified towards the end of the same century, shows strong Turkish influence. There is an argument between most Western and Greek musicologists as to whether the ison and microtones used in Byzantine chant today were known to Greek classical music theorists and practitioners. Many Western scholars advocate the theory that both microtones and ison were introduced after the Turkish conquest of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire, and argue that the integration of the *hard chromatic* intervals, ison and singing styles into the Byzantine liturgical singing was a relatively late process, i.e., Post-Medieval. Many Greek musicologists, on the other hand, believe that the ison predated the Turks and has its roots in ancient Greek music; this is despite the fact that there is no direct reference in the theory books before Chrysanthos of microtone, non-diatonic ("chromatic") intervals or the ison.

As mentioned above, the Neo-Byzantine musical liturgy displays a much stronger Middle Eastern or Turkish inclination, absorbed mostly during the 16th and 18th centuries. The Ottoman presence in the former Byzantine territories was pivotal in extending their influence into urban secular music and these Eastern influences even succeeded in penetrating the ecclesiastical music practised in the churches of the time (see Koço 2004). It is a common belief among practitioners and some scholars of Neo-Byzantine chant that the tradition of Byzantine music has not changed much from the earliest times. It is also common among other Greek scholars to defend the idea that the micro-tonal intervals used in Greek churches were inherited not from the Middle Eastern characteristic tunings of more recent times, but from the micro-tones of ancient Greek music; as a credible example they suggest the Plagal Second Tone of the Oktoechos. Regretfully, there have been no direct references to diatonic and non-diatonic modalities in church music during the post-Byzantine period up to Chrysanthine reform and it was Chrysanthos who assigned the first Echos to the diatonic genus, and the second Echos and its plagal to the chromatic one. [3] Thus the common belief, that Byzantine musical theory was remarkably untouched by the passage of time, should be taken with caution. However, the tendency to introduce new features into the old

tunes during the long process of consolidation of Byzantine liturgical music has shown that despite the intonation variations in a certain period of its development it has managed to remain "traditional", largely as a result of the oral transmission of the music.

As Ivan Moody has pointed out the "aesthetic and liturgical arguments for and against use of polyphony in the services of the Orthodox Church continue to rage in several countries. While in the sphere of influence of the Russian Orthodox Church we are now witnessing in many places a return to monophonic chanting, within the tradition of Byzantine chant, harmonization—in other words, the polyphonic treatment of this repertory of chanting—is decidedly not seen as the norm" (Moody 67, 2007).[4] In the Parish Church in Leeds (England) and in "Sveta Bogorodica" Church in Kalishta (Macedonia) I have heard two different male choirs, one Romanian ("Stavropolos" choir) and the other Slav Macedonian ("Joan Harmosin' choir), singing liturgical chants in the style of Greek chant with the employment of ison. These performances showed other aspects of their "traditional" choral and melisamtic approaches, i.e. a more syllabic treatment, the use of ison which underlined the essential modal tones of the chant, as well as being sung in Greek.

Conomos also discusses the theological and aesthetic point of view and the rapport between monophonic and polyphonic singing applied to Byzantine chant:

> The most appropriate Christian music is monophonic plainchant. It does *not* have to be Byzantine chant, or Old Believer, or Old Slavonic or Coptic chant; and ideally, it should not be polyphonic. Why do I say this? Personally, I do not believe that there is anything intrinsically "unorthodox" about polyphonic music. And, of course, there are many kinds of polyphony, just as there are many types of monophony. Singing an Ison against a melody is already a polyphonic musical gesture. My preference for monophony—that is, single-line or horizontal melody—is more practical than it is aesthetic (Conomos, www.monachos.net 2007).

In modern times, a vertically harmonised bass-line in a form of ison can be heard shifting to the prominent tones of the tetrachords in the melodic movement and the ison basic role relies on maintaining the pitch, helping the chanter learn correct intervals, moving within a Tone and participating in chanting. In his discussion on the role of the ison as "polyphonic" Moody formulated it this way: "The ison is seen as a way of reinforcing the mode of a monophonic melody, without 'interfering' with it in the way that a polyphonic rendition would. The argument, however, that the use of the ison is a special category of its own, somehow different from

polyphony is, in theoretical terms, difficult to sustain. The mere fact of having a second voice creates, in a technical sense, polyphony" (Moody 68, 2007).

New attempts by the inheritors of Byzantine traditions to adapt other polyphonic models as well as the ison to the contemporary world should be seen, in my view, as a tentative step towards broadening the spectrum of the concept of Byzantinism, probably in the direction of experimentation in choral singing. Nowadays, performance reconstructions of ancient Byzantine tunes quite often incorporate an ison with the intention of creating a pleasant moulding, similar to a presupposed earlier stylistic form of the ison practice, or making them sound more remote but at the same time more fashionable. The intentions behind such performances are good in that they attempt to showcase the best of the Byzantine chanting legacy and also to try and relate it to classical Byzantine chant, or even to the supposedly ancient Greek classical music. Amongst the various experimental techniques in these performances have been the use of a "variable ison" or a harmonised bass note to correspond with the tune above it, at other times a fully harmonised Byzantine chant (with the accompaniment of a second voice or a third one in vertical harmonisation), and harmonising the intervals of the Byzantine echos within a Western tempered system. These variations have, however, been met with reservations by some Byzantine scholars and especially by Greek Byzantologists. There is an academic interest in researching various stylistic approaches and shades of an ison, sometimes mutating it into a Westernised, orangum-like refined bass, but any attempt to synthetically associate these variations with an ancient origin would need to display a stronger range of evidence than has so far been presented. More importantly, it would have to fit with the consciousness and awareness of the people who practised it at the time.

Conomos, in an article on "Experimental Polyphony" has pointed out that "In [an] attempt to introduce Western polyphony into the Greek Church, Plousiadenous wrote at least one, or possibly two, communion[5] verses in a primitive kind of two-voice discant" (Conomos 1982, 4). This attempt was made in the 16th century. In some recently issued CDs featuring, among others the music of Koukouzel, one can hear a light ison which is believed to be "closer" to the classical Byzantine chanting. I am keen to defend the view that no ison was used during Koukouzel's time. However, if a kind of ison had started to be employed in classical Byzantine chanting, this would likely have been a simple and a light accompaniment to the melody being held throughout the chanting and without moving along to the essential skeletal melodic tones (tetrachords).

Ison practice in the Byzantine Chanting, from the 14th–15th centuries to the present day, has altered gradually in areas of structural intonation and singing intervals; this is in contrast to the classical Byzantine Chanting practised from roughly the 9th to the 15th centuries, which was unaffected by the more complex non-diatonic trends of Ottoman musical traditions. Although Byzantine liturgical music gradually progressed through its hymns, chants and *Oktoechos* system, it took several centuries to be introduced into the remote churches of the Southwest Balkans, specifically South Albania and northern Greece. During this process Byzantine liturgical music went through several different phases of notation systems before a new element emerged; the ison.

Music and Performance of the Albanian Orthodox Church

In part due to the close geographical vicinity of the two peoples, the practice of Byzantine chanting and the theological tradition of the liturgical rite occurred in roughly the same period in Albania as they did in Greece. The language of the liturgy was of course Greek despite the fact that Albanian people in general did not speak this language in their daily life. They adopted Byzantine chanting without trying to do anything to it, they simply chanted in their services in their own way and, as Fr. Seraphim Rose states; "did to the Byzantine chant the same things that the Greeks did when they took the Hebrew chant". Being close to the Greek speaking people of the Epirus region, the church practice for the Albanians had its advantages and disadvantages; advantages, by sharing a common territory and history for hundreds and hundreds of years, the single ethnic groups also shared common values of Byzantine liturgy and chanting; disadvantages, by being closely under the spiritual, administrative, cultural and legal jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the autocephalous status of the Albanian church was the last to be recognised by the Ecumenical Patriarch in 1937, despite the fact that Albania was one of the earliest countries of Europe to come into contact with Christianity.

Albanian Byzantine Chanting is a combination of the old and the new: old or classical, because, as Falsone has pointed out (see below *Arbëresh Litugical Chanting*), "the real followers of the ancient Greek music are today the Sicilian Albanians and not the modern Greeks" (Falsone 1936, 54–55). It is new, because the old tradition from the lands of origin (South Albania and North Epirus) faded over nearly five hundred years of the Ottoman rule. In the following lines of this chapter, my focus will be on the Byzantine chanting, its ison and their relationship to Albanian soil as

well as the legacy of the past. Then, I will continue to discuss the music of the Albanian Orthodox Church from the 20th century onwards. There are at least three distinct tendencies in performances of the Orthodox Christian Chanting as practised nowadays in Albanian: the Arbëresh tradition (in Greek, Albanian and Italian), the so-called "Fan Noli's" mixed chorus tradition (in Albanian and English) and the Neo-Byzantine male choir tradition (in Albanian and Greek). There are also other less common, mixed, hybrid performances, which comprise a bit of everything, without following a specific criterion.

Arbëresh Liturgical Chanting

It can be confidently said of the Arbëresh liturgical chanting that it is based on the *classical* Byzantine, medieval style of chanting, and that it is closer to Western chanting than Neo-Byzantine music. The Arbëresh Orthodox chanting (as taught in the Abbey of Grottaferrata near Rome), is an "independent" branch of Byzantine chant, and despite the fact that the theologically the Church belongs to the Roman Catholic rite, is still generally practised in Greek. It is only recently that it has been practised in Albanian/Arbëresh. It is transmitted through an oral tradition and its modal system is diatonic with some rudimentary elements of microtones and ornamental patterns based on the same system of eight modes as in Byzantine classical and Gregorian chant.

The classical Byzantine chanting, a small part of which is known to belong to the local Arbëresh "poor churches" repertoire, did not have any direct contact with Ottoman administration and was not affected by the Ottoman expressive devices and musical effects such as "lamenting trills, guttural pulsations, nasal paraphoniae and nostalgic dirges" (Tardo 1938, 100). The Arbëresh possess a vast patrimony of this repertoire, which even today is still orally transmitted and capable of preserving its own characteristics. The ison, for example, started to be used among the Arbëresh of Sicily only at the beginning of the 20th century and then only in a sporadic way without a clear theoretical approach. Garofalo states that the ison in Sicily "is considered a recent innovation" and that it "has begun to be used in the last 70–80 years" (Garofalo 2012, 313). The ison, which is much less common than in Greek tradition, does not play a role in modulation as it does in Neo-Byzantine chant; it is held throughout the chanting without moving along to the essential melodic tones in order to create the harmonic functions needed.

Investigating the possibility of a liturgical ison tradition among the Arbëresh of South Italy and Sicily, Kruta notes that:

> an important fact which makes the genesis of the drone appear more complex and that puts a question mark over its early existence in the Byzantine chant is the link it has with the polyphonic song of the Orthodox Church of the Arbëresh of Italy, which, despite its ancient tradition, does not identify an ison … At least until the 14th century when the migration movements of the Arbëresh towards Italy began, the Byzantine liturgical chant in South Albania developed without iso (Kruta 1991, 68–9).

Kruta's assessment is accurate. During my visit to Sicily in the summer of 2006, I found no evidence to suggest such an ison ever existed in the Byzantine liturgy of the Arbëresh Diaspora who inhabit five small towns in the province of Palermo. The main centre of this Arbëresh musical patrimony—the Byzantine church of the Piana degli Albanesi in Sicily (known as Piana dei Greci before 1914)—has its own specific repertoire which has been handed down mostly orally and is melodically different from the Neo-Byzantine liturgy; the latter employs an ison, whereas Arbëresh Byzantine musical practice does not. "On the 'written traces' of the ison among the Sicilian-Arbëresh, I wish to recall once again that this tradition is handed down orally, and that the few manuscripts I know are all very recent. The most 'ancient' or rather 'oldest' date from 1899. Others date from the 1920's and 30s, while other ones are more recent (1960s)" (Garofalo 2012, 315). Neo-Byzantine music uses the hard and soft chromatic intervals (augmented seconds) in its Eight Tones (Oktoechos) modal system, whereas the Arbëresh Byzantine musical tradition has its own specific organisation of this system which have been largely unaffected by the Neo-Byzantine. During the Ottoman occupation of the Balkans, from the 15th century onwards, the new components of Byzantine singing, the harmonic and modal (i.e. the ison and augmented second) became very important, whereas for Arbëresh Byzantine singing outside the Balkans, the ison component is treated, as quoted above, as a modern aesthetic feature and as something of a recent novelty. In Sicily, Calabria and in the Abbey of Grottaferratta in particular, classical Byzantine chanting is still practised in the liturgy, whereas in nearly all monasteries of the Greek Orthodox Church they use Neo-Byzantine music.

Tardo's *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina* is an important reference for Classical Byzantine music (dating from the 9th to the 15th century) and many recordings of these chants use Tardo's theoretical investigation, so meticulously examined in his book. He also referred to the Neo-Byzantine theory (from roughly the 15th century to the first half of the 20th century) concentrating predominantly on the "Chrysanthine" reform.[6] Tardo based his musical grammar of Byzantine chants on the "ancient and modern" reading, classical form and Chrysanthos reform; the latter codification

showed strong Ottoman influence. Tardo appears to disapprove some of Chrysanthos' proposals presented in his *Theory*, among others, the note signs such as *endófonon* (endophonon), which he describes as performance styles of "an inner or nasal voice", or *rinofonia*,[7] "an obvious anti-esthetical expression". According to Tardo, these devices "do not exist either in any of the ancient codices or in the small but numerous theory texts of Byzantine music manuscripts" (Tardo 1938, 100). According to Lingas, Tardo's interpretation of some of Chrysanthine proposals, presented in his lecture delivered in Athens in 1933, "has angered Karas[8] … causing the latter to respond with a short pamphlet entitled 'Byzantine Musical Notation'" (Lingas, 66).[9]

The new Ottoman expressive qualities incorporated in the Byzantine chanting, such as the small inflections and fluctuations in the intonation, were not perceived by Tardo as an enrichment of the flexibility of the voice or a conscious means of expression. It should be stressed that for strong ideological motifs, Chrysanthos' approach attempted to provide a link between the genera of the ancient Greek music and Neo-Byzantine music; however, "correspondences to Turkish modes/makam" (Zannos, 1990, 47) were also explored in his *Theory*.[10] The Neo-Byzantine music and then the Chrysanthine reform have been taught as a New Method in the Patriarchal School of Music in Constantinople and were supposed to have had "little contact" with the metropolis of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul. However, there are clear similarities between the melody types found in the Byzantine *echos* and the Ottoman *echos* (*makam*); this seems to be an obvious result of a long coexistence in the same geographical area and mutual exposure to the influences of Byzantine chant and Ottoman court (classical) music. Thus, leaving aside the distinctions between their theoretical organisations, the resemblance of modal systems and audible features in Byzantine and Ottoman modes are striking.

Part of Tardo's discussion concerns the chromatic (non-diatonic) features of the Oktoechos in making clear the distinction between the *echoi* of the Classical Byzantine and the Neo-Byzantine repertory, adding that in the early traditional chants, forms of genuine tonalities can be traced. Tardo strongly believed that the medieval Byzantine chromatic signs, which appeared in the 13th century and developed in the 15th century manuscripts, were not "true chromatics". From the performance point of view, traces of chromaticism, depicted by Tardo as a "living expression of anguish and pain", could be found in certain Arbëresh songs in Sicily. "It is true that in the melodies retained in the Italo-Greco-Albanian colonies the intervals of the *scale* do not follow the same schematic outline as in the modern Byzantine system, however, these

[melodies] are pervaded by a characteristic chromatism in which the Plagal Second Mode can be recognised on the first hearing, this is in view of the fact that they had the same common origin" (Tardo 1938, 120).

Attempts to transcribe several versions of the Albanian oral tradition of the Byzantine chanting brought to Calabria and Sicily in the 15th century have been made by Arbëresh scholars aside from Tardo; by Falsone (on the Sicilian variant), Giordano (on the Calabrian variant) and Di Salvo. Some of these musical compositions belong to Koukouzel's time or Koukouzel himself. Di Salvo writes:

> The Albanian colonies of Sicily came to be established in Italy in the mid-15th century, when Albania, under the hard pressure of Turks and the death of Scanderbeg, lost its independence. Their artistic and musical heritage consisted of an ancient and traditional deposit, before Koukouzeles, later increased by the new productions of *Maistores*. This can be deduced from some of the songs we possess which may be attributed to those epochs and also from the surveys upon several songs of the Albanian tradition, a twin to the Sicilian one. This heritage was jealously conserved together with the rite, in spite of contrariety which it would endure in the new country. The survey of the melodies and documents shows that Albanians were neither far away nor insensible from the development of the musical novelties of Greece … Certainly, from such a study would derive a notable contribution to the definition of Byzantine modal scales, a theory which does not hold unanimity of opinions (Di Salvo 1952, 129–130).

Other Eastern Church music, such as Slavonic, displays greater affinity with the earlier tradition of Byzantine chanting than the modern Greek or Neo-Byzantine chanting; even more so the earlier classical tradition of the Arbëresh of Sicily and Calabria. Tardo makes clear that the Orthodox Albania of the 1930s certainly adopted the system and the chanting of its neighbouring country, Greece, based on written or printed music of the post-Byzantine period. He points out that Serbs, Romanians and other peoples of the Balkans, as well as the Albanian people, "had long since adopted the liturgical music of present day Oriental Greece altering it with the polyphonic superstructures of an anachronistic type" (Tardo 1938, XV). However, he was more interested in the Byzantine orally transmitted chanting, as he states:

> All of these Byzantine songs, used before in Albania, in Morea, in the Near East, and then transmitted and jealously preserved (as perhaps being something sacred and rather exaggerated) in the new places of Sicily, represent a monument of an incomparable value that, for their unaltered tradition, give a great prominence to the Byzantine *melurgical* art. The

> liturgical melodies, in their general complexity, belong to the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th. The Albanians, loathing their Muslim slavery, left their homeland soil, not taking with them the ultimate musical pattern of Constantinople, not the scholarly and wise art of the refined *protopsalti*, but rather a provincial, mountainous and archaic tradition (Tardo 1938, 111).

In the 1930s Tardo made an appeal to the Byzantine world stating that the classical Byzantine tradition should not be considered as having been entirely lost as certain songs still survived among the Greco-Albanian community of Sicily.

"In the Oriental Church", Tardo states, "the ison is traditionally conserved and it is of a very ancient origin" (Tardo 1938, 392). He makes an assumption on how the ison was perceived and sung since the time of the great Fathers of the Eastern Church, St Basil (4th century), St John Chrysostom (4th–5th centuries), and St Sophronius (6th century). The influence of the Byzantine Empire on Italy in the early Middle Ages was evident and the Roman Church referred to Byzantine chants for some of their theoretical and performance aspects. With regard to the ison practice, there are some contemporary theories, which suggest that the ison, as Tardo also believed, was used in medieval Italy; "On the practice of this kind of ison, that is the *sotto voce* chord, records are preserved also in Rome. When the Greek colony was flourishing, the Greek chants alternated with the Latin ones, not only in the liturgical but also extra-liturgical functions" (Tardo 1938, 392). Based on the verses of the Greek chants, Tardo comes to the conclusion that the melodies of the chants were Greek, but the Latins added to them single chords and set the accompaniment in a Byzantine form expressed by the word *sussurros* (murmur). He also gives an explanation of the use of a "simple" ison based on the tonic, and a "double" ison, as he named the movements according to variations of the tone and mode from the tonic to the dominant; he was inclined to perceive these movements as harmonic, or a certain form of polyphony. "There are parts", he explains, "where the ison should not be heard, in some other parts where the ison should be slightly heard, and there are points where the ison should really sustain the fundamental tone of the whole singing part" (Tardo 1938, 393). "The ison", he wrote "corresponds to an accompanying note similar to the organ pedal or the so-called *falsobordone*" (Tardo 1938, 390).

In his *Theory* he also uses the term "ison" to represent a written sign or a distinct hand sign, chironomy,[11] which identifies the repetition of a tone and expresses a special value of the rhythm. Tardo makes a special point of stressing that apart from certain Byzantine chants, such as the *papadike*

and *melismatic*, there are many that are not accompanied by the ison: the psalms, the *prokimen* and other small psalmodic forms do not employ the ison. In his *L'Antica* Tardo examines the ison feature but not as a component of the Arbëresh chanting. He clearly expresses his viewpoint on the use of ison sign and ison performance form (ὑποφάλλω or ὑπηχέω, accompanying) during the Classical period of Byzantine music, but he does not proceed to show why ison singing was not practised in the Arbëresh liturgical chant, although a considerable number of these chants belong to the Byzantine medieval period.

Tardo's theoretical research is based on the transcription of the codices found mainly in the Italian land, in Badia di Grottaferrata, the Vatican Library, Biblioteca Ambrosiana (in Milan), as well as in some other great monasteries and libraries of the West and East. In my view, the practice of Byzantine chanting which the Albanians and Greeks brought from the Balkans into the Italian land did not make use of the ison: my belief is that any kind of ison employed in the Arbëresh chanting would have been inherited from refugees arriving from the Balkans and not from that Byzantine legacy which existed in South Italy since the early centuries of the Christian era or after the 8th century, when the region was placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. I believe that no ison was brought onto Italian soil from the Balkan church singing since the ison had only begun to be used in the Southwest Balkans when the Byzantine practitioners left the peninsula after the Ottoman conquest. If during the medieval period the ison was intended to represent a graphic sign which "simply repeated the preceding note" (Tardo 1938, 267), then from the 15th century onwards the practice of ison became an important performing style of singing of Byzantine chant; as a sustained base of the mode and the sole accompaniment over which the melody evolved, gave the chant its modal soul.

Tardo expresses some strong reservations about the way the Byzantine melodies developed in Oriental Greece during the Ottoman period. The tendency to enhance the chants with polyphonic and harmonic textures or to re-dress them with the subtleties of a modern harmonization, according to him, disfigured and distorted the aesthetic sense of the Byzantine melody and destroyed the Oktoechos tonality. To emphasize this idea he quotes a paragraph from the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, *No 1–2 1909*: "The application of the polyphonic style in Byzantine chants in the Balkans and among the Slavs has produced the destruction of the ancient ecclesiastical ήχοι and traditional melodies; a great loss for the science, for the arts and for the liturgical tradition" (Tardo 1938, 394). Although he is against many of the changes towards a Middle-Eastern approach that occurred in

the chants in Greece and the Balkans, he also believes that the ison had an ancient origin as described in his *L'Antica*. He "allows" an exception to the ison's use in the Neo-Byzantine chanting and accepts the idea expressed in the *Μουσικὸς χόσμος* (Athens, October 1929–February 1930) that the "admirers of the traditional melodies love leaving them in their original form, without any superstructure, except, it is understood, the artistic use of the ison" (Tardo 1938, 394).

The necessity of adapting a polyphonic language to the Byzantine chanting versus the desire to leave it intact and uncorrupted by Western or Eastern influences is a debate in which both sides have stated the issue as a matter of principle and a doctrine of the Byzantine liturgy. For example, the addition of a second accompanied voice to the Byzantine traditional monophonic tune—functioning as a variable ison—as well as other polyphonic effects such as the ascending major thirds in a heterophonic style, are attempts to change the perception that Byzantine chanting is supposed to be strictly monophonic. Has this diaphony in thirds been borrowed from the idiomatic vocabulary of the folk music, or has it been borrowed from Western practice? Joining the singing to the melody in parallel thirds is also a feature of Greek folk music. Commenting on the use of thirds in the Neo-Byzantine chants, as well as a kind of mania for harmonization of the Oktoechos recurring in Greece, Lorenzo Tardo paraphrases the journal *Φόρμιγξ* (February 1911): "There are harmonized even the απολυτίχια of the οκτώηχος, with a continuation of thirds, which give to melodies, beautiful in themselves, a banal feeling" (Tardo 1938, 394). Further, "some people are limited in the harmonization of the 3rd, 4th, 7th and 8th Tones, since their scale corresponds, to a certain degree, to the major tonalities of the modern figured music" (Tardo 1938, 394). However, the ison's function in the chanting is not perceived by the practitioners as a matter of harmonizing, for example, the parallel moving thirds; its role remains participatory. In some less frequent occurrences this participation, in a more systematized form, takes place as a double ison in which case the upper or second ison is a pentachord higher and is meant to be softer than the basic one.

It should be stressed that elements of microtones, melismatic ornamental patterns, improvised melodic formulae, and above all the ison, are all found in the corpus of the early and mid-medieval Byzantine chanting but were of a basic, rudimentary nature. During the period of Ottoman rule, however, these rudiments developed significantly by absorbing resonant drones and heavily ornamental Middle-Eastern stylistic features. Discussing the microtones (quarter-tones and neutral tones) of Byzantine chants, Tardo recognises the use of "intervals smaller than

semitones, which also exist in nature" (Tardo 1938, 354). These divisions of intervals (microtones), according to him, were used in Italy up to the 16th century, but were also to be found in traditional and popular songs, as well as the Byzantine chanting, of the Greco-Albanian colonies of South Italy. He also discerns that such fluctuations in the intonation occur in contemporary Greek chanting practice.

Papàs Ferrari, a dedicated Arbëresh musicologist and Albanologist, has tried to make it clear that the Byzantine chanting which developed in the Southwest Balkans did not identify with the mainstream Constantinopolitan musical liturgy. Although both Byzantine musical traditions lived side by side, they had significant differences: the Constantinople musical liturgy, which was a written music, was more exposed to Ottoman music and became more "Oriental", whereas the Southwest Balkan Byzantine tradition still sounded like the Byzantine music of the Byzantine period. The former was established in the Balkans with its centres in Constantinople and Mount Athos, and the changes toward a more "middle-eastern" approach occurred slowly and were hardly noted at the time. The latter, totally oral and more "primitive", moved to a new land, South Italy and Sicily. It should be stressed that while in Calabria this tradition has almost disappeared or become Latinised, in Sicily it is still preserved in the villages with care and fanaticism.

> But, beside the art music, scholarly music, which was cultivated in the great schools of Bizantium … another type of liturgical chant of a traditional popularised background, which was orally transmitted and without any kind of written tradition, it should have existed in Albania in the 15th century … In fact, it is not perhaps known to many people that the liturgical song of the Italo-Albanian Churches of the Byzantine rite of Southern Italy and Sicily, is identified not with the Byzantine liturgical songs of the printed texts in Greece and elsewhere, but stands as an artistic patrimony of its own (Ferrari 1978, 15).

Giuseppe Ferrari provides the most coherent picture of the differences between three aspects of liturgical songs of the Arbëresh or Italo-Albanians of Calabria and Sicily. I am focusing a little longer on his thoughts as they very much match my beliefs on Arbëresh liturgical music. In the following section I will sum up some of his ideas.

Ferrari comments that some of these liturgical songs are very similar, almost identical, to the common written Byzantine musical tradition. It is evident that these are of an Eastern derivation, preserved intact over the centuries. Another group of these songs are of South Italian provenance and represent the influence of five hundred years of cohabitation. When

the Neapolitan, Calabrian or Sicilian traditional song of 1600–1700 is observed, a close affinity between these southern traditional songs and *our* [Arbëresh] liturgical songs can be found.

> A third category of *our* liturgical songs has nothing to share either with the Southern Italian music or with the Byzantine *art* chant. It is clear that these songs and those identified with the Byzantine *art* music came from Albania with the emigrations of the 15th and 16th centuries. These songs, in particular, have played a great role in the history of Albanian musical art … They show that in the Orthodox Albania of the 15th century there existed a liturgical musical tradition which did not identify with Byzantine *art* music, however, both coexisted side by side; one coming from the great schools and practised by a few experts (it could be said, "deciphered by", because of the graphic system), the other much more widespread among the poorer churches (Ferrari 1978, 17).

It is worth repeating that the oral chanting of the Italo-Albanians (Arbëresh) stand in a group of their own and should not be confused with the Byzantine *art* music of the great cathedrals. They were the popularized songs of small, even remote places and handed down without using a written notation (neumes). There is a common misconception that in the 15th century (and even earlier), across the whole Orthodox oriental area, the same liturgical chanting were universally performed and that the smallest church in Albania or Peloponnesus sung the same melodies as those performed in Constantinople's cathedral.

The unification of the sacred song came much later with the distribution of printed books. In smaller places, where almost the entire population was illiterate, local popularised traditions were created. Everything, of course, was accepted and transformed according to the taste of the milieu where the events occurred. The Oktoechos used in these Italo-Albanian songs was reduced to some small musical phrases, without any kind of rhythm, in other words, these songs have little in common with the true Byzantine written tradition. In the written Byzantine music the musical rhythm corresponds exactly with the poetical rhythm of the hymn and this would be the true metre. There are some songs of this type that are, without doubt, most precious. It should be said that the most common songs, known and sung by the masses, are the most corrupted, whereas other songs handed down from more isolated surroundings are better preserved. An Oktoechos, for example, of two different versions, one from Calabria and the other from Sicily, may bring interesting outcomes. It is important not to confound the chants of the great masters of Byzantine written music with the popularized ones of the smaller towns

and villages, unless both melody types are identical. It is easy to memorise a small number of universal melodies, for the rest, they belong to the "poor churches" patrimony (Ferrari 1978, 20–23). Ferrari argues convincingly that although these songs may come from less prominent churches, they belong to the Orthodox churches of Albania and as such they should stand on their own feet at any cost.

There is a clear correspondence between the Arbëresh chanting and similar forms of Greek or Slavonic chanting, which are commonly associated with the basic principles and traditions of Byzantine chant. Ferrari gives the following account of an experience from his travels in the Balkans:

> Being in Yugoslavia in some Orthodox Serbian, Macedonian and Montenegrin churches in zones closer to Albania, I heard *di domenica nell'ufficio dell'Aurora* in which I participated. These were songs similar to ours. In a monastery where the nuns were singing, they invited me to join them in singing. For one of the Calabrian songs, sung in Greek, they thought it "to be like theirs". Then Byzantine music, the Δόξα of the Αϊνοι, was sung. The nuns felt happy. They asked me whether I had written their songs. I replied—no, it is an oral tradition. Being able to listen to the Constantinople music made everybody feel happy and for them signified a great feast. This fact even more confirmed my thesis (Ferrari 1978, 23).

Among the three aspects of liturgical songs, Ferrari does not mention which one might have used the ison and any speculation on this issue would be meaningless. Despite much coherence in Ferrari's discussion, there are some issues on which we differ. One of these is his disapproval of Tardo's assessment that the living Byzantine musical tradition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and Greece was substantially different from that of the true ancient Byzantine. I think Tardo was right. Another strong belief of his was that it is through Albanian church songs that Greek classical music should be studied!

The Arbëresh scholar, Papas Matteo Sciambra (1914–1967),[12] viewed the liturgical songs not, as Ferrari categorized them, from the "poor churches" prospect (Ferrari's third aspect), but rather saw their similarity with the common written models of Byzantine musical tradition (Ferrari's first aspect). Sciambra believed that the liturgical songs of Sicily, preserved with almost all the characteristics which determine their nature, as belonging to the great patrimony of the Byzantine music. However, he observed that this tradition does not have a unitary origin but differs from the locality and time according to the place of origin of the priests. Sciambra explained that until 1750, or after the foundation of the Greco-

Albanian Seminary of Palermo, Albanian refugees continued to be served religiously by the priests who had accompanied them from Albania. Clergy who served at St. Nicola's Church in Palermo, as well as in some other Albanian communities of Sicily, generally came from the Ballkans. It should be stressed that the Albanian *melurgic* tradition cannot be linked simply with the emigrants arriving in Italy as this tradition was not their speciality; rather, it was the priests who, with their extensive knowledge of the liturgical services, acted as the main preserving force.

According to Sciambra, among the foremost characteristics of the traditional liturgical songs of the Albanians of Sicily are: the accompaniment of the liturgical ceremonies of the Byzantine rite, the denomination, which was strictly linked with the nomenclature of Byzantine ritual (Ιδιόμελον Στιχηρόν Κονάχιον Εϊρμός), the modal division which comprises the Eight Tones (Οχτώηχος) and the form of some of the songs. Those who are interested in *melurgic* studies should not ignore the fact that this branch of Byzantine music, where Albanians of Sicily are involved, has an abundant, precious and living *melurgic* tradition conserved with religious meticulousness. In the same way that the manuscripts of Byzantine ancient music are characterised by their grammar and style, so the Sicilian tradition follows some very important particular norms which determine the structure of their melodies; these are the Οχτώηχος and the Sicilian traditional melodies: *melismatical*, *heirmological* and *sticheraic*. The latter, in the Sicilian tradition, has a double proceeding with a distinct form: rhythmical and mixed. Both forms, particularly the mixed one, being rigorously linked with the poetical rhythm, are applied to any composition. In the *sticheraic* melodies of Sicilian tradition, the structure of the song based on melodic formulae plays a dominant role (see Sciambra 1965–66). Sciambra revealed that the Sicilian-Albanian tradition also follows the principle of composition of melodic formulae. It has been shown that "the *melurgic* tradition, which reached Sicily with the clergy originating out of the Peloponnesus, Cretan and Cyprus isles and in the end from Himara in Epirus, was found in the same ambit as the music coming, according to Wellesz, from Syria" (Sciambra 1965–66, 316). This characteristic, the Mediterranean-like melodic formulae, concluded Sciambra, can be considered as an original value of the Sicilian-Albanian tradition.

In discussing Byzantine melodies and their melodic formulae Wellesz asserts: "The discovery of this principle of composition is of far greater importance than was at first thought. Further investigations have shown that it was not confined to the melodies of a few areas, but was the ruling principle of composition in Oriental music and, with the expansion of

Christian music, spread over the whole Mediterranean basin" (Wellesz 1949, 269).

The Byzantine chanting of the Arbëresh of Sicily is still perceived as not archaic or exotic, but as a living phenomenon based on an uninterrupted oral tradition and developed with the consent of the local people—Sicilians—who have shown a tolerance and sympathy for diversity. Of course, the Arbëresh classical tradition should not be considered as having been kept intact over the passage of time, since a musical tradition without variation and transformation would likely have died out. When the iso(n) question is discussed among Albanian musicologists a comparison is often made with the music of the Arbëresh of Italy. This is because while Albania was occupied by the Ottoman Empire and its music was gradually changed towards a more Middle Eastern inclination, the Albanians who immigrated to Italy, i.e. the Arbëresh, scrupulously retained their traditional and liturgical music as a symbol of their identity and unique culture. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and in the following centuries many Byzantine clergy kept fleeing to Italy, taking with them their manuscripts, stabilising their oral transmission and preserving them during the centuries.

In Calabria, the Byzantine Arbëresh church functions along the same lines as its counterpart in Sicily and the liturgy is sung in Greek, Albanian and partly in Italian. Although the oral tradition of the Arbëresh liturgical chanting of Calabria was traditionally based on the classical Byzantine chant rather than Neo-Byzantine chant, the growing influence of an Italian population, especially in the last seventy years or so, meant some of the Arbëresh communities were almost assimilated and Latinised. In Calabria, Ejanina, there are liturgical texts that were translated into Albanian and then sung long before the Albanian language was officially introduced into the liturgy in 1968. Many of these were translated by Father Emanuele Giordano, parish priest of Frascineto. Together with my son, Gent, I visited Father Giordano and interviewed him for some hours. He was 86 years old and the communication with him was, in every sense, perfect. He sang for us and played his own compositions on the harmonium. He was kind enough to give me his own *Fjalor i Arbëreshvet t'Italisë* (Dictionary of the Arbëresh of Italy) as a souvenir of the visit. Although we visited several impressive places and met highly educated people who all spoke Arbëresh/Albanian, a language which has been preserved in isolation since the 15th century, Father Giordano represented a special case. He was very open with us and treated our conversation as friendly and intimate without acting at all aloof. I refer here to some of his thoughts about Arbëresh music, spoken in perfect Arbëresh/Albanian:

> Compared to the Arbëresh of Sicily, we, here in Calabria, have, unfortunately, lost our tradition, voluntarily, I repeat, voluntarily. The Oktoechos, of course, has changed, it had its transformation. We have brought from Albania our songs, our singing. Our liturgical singing resembles very much the Byzantine music; an example is the hymn of *Jordan* [Jordan's Stormy Banks]. It was sung in Albanian and Greek. I'll sing for you both versions. The Arbëresh variant is more horizontal, without excessively articulating the words, while the Greek comes more vertical with rhythmic pulsating syllables. I have sung the Mass in Albanian before the *Second Vatican Council* in 1965. I have translated texts from the Greek. Other priests did not do the same thing. I feel a bit bad because nobody cares nowadays for the tradition. I think that Byzantine music has influenced the Arbëresh traditional music. I'll sing for you two songs, one liturgical and one traditional. Can you see? The people took it from the church music. There are many other songs that the people have taken from the church songs, from the Arbëresh church songs. I am not sure about the reverse case.[13]

The following day, the 15th August 2006, my son and I attended a Mass given by Papa Giordano (we were almost half an hour late and took our seats as Papa Giordano watched from the pulpit). After the service I paid a second visit to his vestry where we talked for over two hours. Here is his second account:

> The people who come to attend the Mass prefer to hear it in Albanian, they understand it. People speak Albanian in this region. They do not understand Greek at all. I'll now sing for you a *Tropar* in Albanian. I have shortened the hymns since people can't hear them all. My father wrote many traditional songs for the saint liturgy. They were sung in Frascineto and Ejanina in the minor and major Tones. It is not true that we have made a mistake by translating the chants from Greek into Albanian. Earlier we had to sing only in Greek because no translation existed. I translated the chants. Listen how beautiful they sound [he did indeed sing beautifully]. In San Demetrio the priests taught us about our music, now there are new priests and they have little knowledge of it. It is important for the liturgy to be translated in Albanian because this is our language. Today only the Byzantine music is known, the modern one, not the ancient. Our fathers wrote the Byzantine music in Western notation, not in Byzantine, because they did not know that. Our music was oral, not a written one. In some *katunde* (Alb. villages), the music has been altered. It is the *echos* that the Arbëresh traditional songs, secular or paraliturgical, have taken from the Byzantine liturgy, but they have also taken from the Latin—the Western music. Those with an Oriental *echos* have come from the Balkans. I have put my own music to some texts of para-liturgical songs. In the song "O e bukura More" [O You Beautiful Morea], which is maybe in the Second

> Mode, in a semi-chromatic one, there only one chromatic passage occurs (As, G, F#, G).[14] [15]

The next day we travelled to the diocese of Lungro (in Calabria) to meet Bishop Lupinacci. The Bishop repeated the idea that the Arbëresh of Sicily kept their liturgical songs, whereas we, the Calabrians, forgot them.

> We learned in Rome and were taught only the modern Greek music. We sing here the Oktoechos system apart from the Third Mode. We have always used the ison with an organ, while outside the church the folk instruments such as *surdulina* produced the ison. Between the church songs and the secular ones, there is not much difference; in the secular music sometimes two parts/voices are used. Among the secular songs, not the church songs, such as the love songs or *vallja*, there were old women here in Lungro who used the 7/8 metre for these songs. As far as the translations into Albanian, I think that Fan Noli's sound very nice with music. He really knew the power of language, and if the text fits to the music, it means that the translation is right.[16]

About the Performance of Arbëresh Byzantine Musical Liturgy

Father Lorenzo Tardo of the Abbey of Grottaferrata, among others, put a great deal of effort into the practical revival and performance of the ancient Byzantine chants. If other scholars of his time were interested in the theoretical aspect of this field, Tardo's inclination was to the theoretical and the practical. His reconstruction of the liturgical chants could not be based solely, as he described, on "academic" approaches or "silent transcriptions" and "omitting the study of the living tradition" (Tardo 1938, 110). He was able to read the manuscripts of melodies composed for liturgical use and transcribe them from the Middle-Byzantine into Neo-Byzantine and Western notation. He was also able to sing the hymns from the Byzantine classical manuscripts as he was familiar with the traditional chanting of the Sicilian-Arbëresh communities of the 14th and 15th centuries. Chorus conductors or Protopsaltis often enriched their repertoire by including newly composed chants and using the Oktoechos according to the necessities of the church. Tardo was one of them.

Based upon medieval theoretical texts and notated manuscripts, Tardo conceived the performance of the ison not as it developed in reality in the Balkans after 1453, i.e. as the lowest sound and foundation of the mode, but in an organ-pedal or *falsobordone* style, that is the solo melody with a

triadic form of choral accompaniment. Listening to his own performances of Byzantine chants with the *Coro della Schola Melurgica di Grottaferrata* where he acted as conductor, his perception of the "accompaniment" used in some liturgical pieces becomes evident; it is of a *falsobordone* structure of an accord type in root position; the top note of the chord is often placed an octave higher than the lowest note of the melody and it is in a triad position. The *falsobordone* type of accompaniment, which is generally very light and serves as a gently woven background to a solo voice, changes the harmonic function according to the modulation of the melody. Here is an example where the *falsobordone* (drone/ison) is conceived as a spread harmony of a consonant chord (*Asate Kyrie*, First Tone, in *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina*),[17] Audio Example 14. In another example of the Grottaferrata version of Byzantine chants, one can hear in the chanter's melodic line two augmented second intervals, which, in another study, I have classified as Non-Diatonic (Chromatic) Mode C, Second Type (Koço 157, 2004). Viewed from a Southwestern Balkan Mode perspective, the cantor's melodic range is comprised of two main structures; a non-diatonic pentachord above the tonic and a non-diatonic tetrachord below the tonic. Despite the fact that chants of non-diatonic (chromatic) intervals of Neo-Byzantine inclination with a drone accompaniment were hardly practised in the Italian soil, Tardo's attempt to match the Balkan's new developments in the field of intonation or Chrysanthos' assigned church modes (echoi) resulted in some ingenious outcomes ("Nyn e dynamis", Cherubic Hymn, Fourth Tone, in *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina*), Audio Example 15. By employing this kind of choral accompaniment or, as he called it, *organum vocale*, for his transcribed ancient Byzantine chants, Tardo researched and experimented with what he considered to be the ison practice during the medieval period, based on his interpretation of palaeographic Byzantine notation. Tardo's desire to experiment with finding new routes for the performances of his *Coro della Schola Melurgica di Grottaferrata* sometimes produced results that are far from clear. On the one hand, he employed non-diatonic intervals (augmented seconds) in the melodic lines and, on the other hand, he experimented with a double or a triadic form of an organ accompaniment structured as a tonal harmonic ison. He intentionally left out any mention of his previous theoretical principles and was keen to follow his musical instincts, which were closer to the Italian musical taste, such as, for example, the triad harmony, combined with an exotic flavour of the melody by using non-diatonic (chromatic) intervals.

The fact that in the Balkans, from the 15th century onwards, the ison took a completely different course, i.e. a participatory role with the aim of

reinforcing the melody in the form of a sustained single tone within an originally monophonic, non-harmonized, chant, shows the importance of its function in the Neo-Byzantine liturgical tradition. It should be stressed that in the ex-Roman Epiri (Vetus and Nova) zone of the Balkans, the Byzantine ison coexisted with the oral traditions of the IMUS of the same region. Neo-Byzantine ecclesiastical ison has more in common with the secular oral tradition of the IMUS of the Southwest Balkans than with the *falsobordone* type of ison used at the Badia di Grottaferrata. Although several Arbëresh clerics studied and worked at Grottaferrata and the Collegio Romano in Rome (from the end of 19th century up to the present day) none of them tried to introduce the ison practice as a new norm into their everyday musical liturgy in the Arbëresh churches of Sicily and Calabria. Just as they were loyal toward the preservation of the ancient Byzantine rite in their church, traditionally sung in Greek and recently in Albanian, so were they reluctant to introduce "new" features into their chants. This reluctance is seen in the case of the ison, which has been borrowed in recent times either from the post-Byzantine new tradition of the Balkans or from the Byzantine medieval music theoretical tradition which developed in Italy. However, in recent times efforts have been made to adopt an ison into the liturgical Arbëresh chanting but in my view it sounds a little out of context.

In Piana degli Albanesi I had the privilege to record the singing of the Eight Tones by Papa Jani Pecoraro, Parish Priest of the Cathedral of St Demetrio. He sung in both Greek and Albanian. I am not certain how many of these Tones would sound similar to the Classical Byzantine turns of melody. However, compared to the present day "Chrysanthine" tradition where modes of soft and hard chromatics, uninterrupted ornamentations, "through the nose" solos and the practice of the ison, Papa Jani's versions of a Megalinario and Oktoechos, sound somewhat different. They have almost no Middle Eastern expressive devices, or shades of the Old Roman or Gregorian chant, although, at a certain period in history the Old Roman chant is supposed to have borrowed the intonation, structure and system from the Byzantine Classical chant (*Epì si cheri*—In You Rejoices, from *Theotokos to ònoma aftì*—Mother of God is His Name, Audio Example 16).[18] When discussing the Oktoechos system of the Sicilian-Albanians, Di Salvo noted that "a characteristic of these chants was the absolute absence of the chromatic scale of Plagal Second Mode and Second Mode used in the Greek Church" (Di Salvo 1952, 130). Papa Jani's Tones have adopted, in my evaluation, the Sicilian tradition of modal monody (Audio Example 17, Second Plagal Tone, "Zëri i Gjashtë" in Albanian). I learned from Papa Jani that if the ison takes place

sometimes in the modern Arbëresh musical liturgy, this is only in a form of holding a basic tone, without moving along to the essential melodic tones as in the Neo-Byzantine chanting. This kind of Arbëresh Sicilian version of "modern" ison is adopted by the chanters mostly by ear and preference, rather than as a fundamental component borrowed from the Neo-Byzantine chant. According to Girolamo Garofalo who has investigated the Byzantine chanting of the Arbëresh of Sicily, the ison is considered to be an "innovation" and has begun to be used in Sicily in the last 70–80 years. Continuing his observations on the ison issue in Sicily, Garofalo points out that the recent, and increasingly frequent, approach to the ison practice should be considered primarily as a desire to imitate the style of the modern Greek-Byzantine music and to introduce an exotic feeling to the Arbëresh chanting. Garofalo, then, maintains the Arbëresh Orthodox chant is an "independent" branch of Byzantine chant, despite the fact that the theology of the Church belongs to the Roman Catholic rite. Further, that the priests who practise it have tended to find in this chanting ways to reaffirm their identity; they perceive themselves as authentically "Eastern" and present their role as that of "custodians" of a "different" and independent culture.

Apart from the monastic tradition of Grottaferrata, in very recent times the performance of the Arbëresh chanting has been revaluated, especially in the Bishopric of Lungro. The Neo-Byzantine musical system characterized, among others, by *melismatical* melodies in a free rhythm and enriched by expressive elements, is the result of research by Giovan Battista Rennis. It has been achieved through the impressive performances and recordings of the Italian-Albanian Byzantine Choir of Lungro. Based on the Byzantine and Old Roman legacy, Rennis uses long holding notes as the bass line and sometimes as a top line in combination with the solo parts to create an effect of solemnity. The result is the captivating resonance of a choral harmonized ison, a unique and subtle blend of Byzantine tradition and Western chant (Megàlinon: Megàlinario),[19] Audio Example 18.

After the Byzantine period, that is during the "Neo-Byzantine" period and the "Neo-Greek" or "Chrysanthine" reform, not only the ison, but other performance characteristics such as the timbral nuances, the size of intervals and the articulation of the melody developed with different inclinations. In Greece and the rest of the Middle East, the novel features comprised fluctuation in the intonation (expansion and contraction of intervals, the augmented seconds in particular), semi-nasal tone qualities and highly wrought melodic embellishments ("Protect, O Most Glorious", Greek Byzantine Choir),[20] Audio Example 19.

In the Albanian Orthodox Church of America

Fan Noli is well known for founding the Albanian Orthodox Church in Boston, USA in 1908. He is also recognised for his arrangements and translations into Albanian, mostly based upon hymns drawn from both the Byzantine and Slavonic choral traditions. Noli "found the choral music of the Russian Orthodox Church eminently suited for his choirs which were becoming accustomed to four-part harmony. At the same time, he employed Byzantine chants of the Greek Orthodox tradition in response to resurgence in antiphonal singing. His later compilations would reflect both traditions of Orthodox Church music".[21]

When Noli adapted his translations and set them to music his approach owed something to more than just his love of Russian music; his Russian-inspired Albanian musical liturgy was conceived within the specific socio-historical context of early 20th century America. He understood that America offered him the freedom to draw upon several resources. We should not blame Noli for preferring an indigenous Albanian Byzantine modal tradition that did not use the iso(n); his goal at the time was for Albanian parishes to develop a repertoire of the best and most "catchy" Orthodox liturgical music for use in their daily and weekly liturgical cycles. Encouraging religious participation was more important than limiting themselves to only one style or mode of singing and chanting. This approach was also well suited to the program of Albanian national awakening, the separation of the Albanian Church from the Greek Patriarchate and the introduction of the Albanian language into its liturgy. As a matter of fact, Russian polyphonic models in choral singing as well as the use of the organ to accompany the Byzantine hymns were experimented with in the U.S. and even in a few churches in Greece. Noli had a very broad understanding of pastoral life, just as he did in other aspects of his life's work, and I believe it was a spiritual guidance on his part. That is why his works are often more appealing to the ear. Here is a *Hierarchical Encomion* of Archbishop Theofan from the Hymns of Great Lent (Holy Week and Pascha) included in the *Mesha Shqip* (Albanian Mass) CD.[22] The title of this hymn "Për shumë vjet, o Kryezot" (God Grant Thee Many Years), Audio Example 12, is among several other titles recorded on this Album that are based on traditional Byzantine or Slavonic choral settings rhythmically arranged and translated into Albanian by Archbishop Fan S. Noli.

Noli prepared his own translation of the liturgy into Albanian and, as Mitrush Kuteli stated, "His Eminence Theophan not only created the first device to open the path towards an Autocephalous Church, but also

fostered the Albanian terminology for the Orthodox Church".[23] "Noli's tradition" is well regarded and in an article entitled "The Albanian Mass" (17th February 1990) I referred to this new music and performance as "Noli's reform". In 1967 Albania was declared an atheist state and henceforth all public or private expression of religion was prohibited, a situation which lasted until 1991. Yet within one year of the government lifting its ban on religion a liturgy was celebrated to which I had been asked by Father Liolin visiting Albania from Boston, to form and conduct the church choir. The resulting celebration was an unforgettable event. Fifteen years later, in February 2006, I attended one of the "Noli's tradition" liturgies at St. Nicholas Albanian Orthodox Church, this time in New York. Listening to the choral music I found that the singers were tremendously devoted and passionate amateurs, however, I had some mixed feelings; because of the melodies and harmonies being employed it sounded very Russian. After a hundred years of its existence I thought it must be time for a more Southwest Balkan feeling to be introduced in the music; why not a proper Albanian musical liturgy? I spoke to Fr. David Fox after the Sunday liturgy and he put a straight forward question to me: "Do you think we should use the ison-chanting too?" "Why not"—I replied without hesitation. In fact, nowadays in many places where the Russian Orthodox Church practises, a return to monophonic chanting within the Byzantine tradition is witnessed.

An Interview with Cantor Taqi Deljana

The cantor from the town of Elbasan, Taqi Deljana, has survived in Albania where he is mainly thanks to his discretion. I was fortunate to come into possession of a rare tape-recording made by him on 26 June 1977. I consider it rare and valuable for two reasons; first, because religion was strictly banned in Albania, particularly during 1970s, and such an interview on a religious subject would have been a clear breach of Communist ideological norms. Secondly, cantor Deljana was at that time 90 years old and, fortunately, in good enough health to be able to talk and sing. Thanks are due to the initiative of the musicologist Albert Paparisto, who incidentally came from Elbasan, had an insight into Byzantine rites and was aware that cantor Deljana was still alive. He courageously proceeded to organize the interview with the justification that its only value was for archive purposes. It was Hysen Filja, another Albanian musicologist, who was entrusted with the task of conducting the interview, his Muslim background may have helped here but, because of the strict

control of everything, courage and willingness were still needed to fulfil this task.

Referring to cantor Deljana's views on the iso(n) as used in the chants of the Neo-Byzantine rite practised in the Church of the Castle of Elbasan, he modestly remarked that "it would be inaccurate for me to give examples from the Eight Tones without being accompanied by an iso". As was the case, the majority of his singing examples on tape were not supported by an iso(n), although at times his friend, Stefan, would "hold" an iso(n). Continuing, cantor Deljana explained that "the sole purpose of an iso(n) was to maintain the pedal sound throughout the singing, without interruption as well as keeping the pitch, even in the case when the cantor phrased off and had to briefly pause in order to prepare him for the next phrase". Reinforcing his point, cantor Deljana stated: "The Iso should be sung exactly as the peasants do". My understanding is that he was referring to the peasants of the Shpat area, near Elbasan, where part-singing is practised, the same as in Toskëri and Labëri regions.

In the Elbasan area the traditional music, mainly urban, is monodic, and the influence of the diatonic "makam" system (as opposed to the non-diatonic) in the Elbasan *aheng* practice has resulted in the formation of some specific types of vocal characteristics that display little affinities with North or South Albania. Since the diatonic "makam-s" were less resistant to regional influences than the non-diatonic in this part of the Balkans, they were in time assimilated to and recognized as local modes (Southwestern Balkan features) or even as Byzantine modes.[24] Common expressive features such as the technique of singing through the nose (giving a nasal effect to the singing) were an important factor in the interpretation of the Elbasan songs, as was the practice of the ison which was exclusively Neo-Byzantine. The melodic language of the Elbasan traditional music is both diatonic and non-diatonic, it is a mixture of "makam" with *Southwestern Balkan modes* (with similarities to Byzantine modes), but with a certain Middle Eastern bias, particularly in the cantor's representations of the use of the augmented second.[25] Under the Ottoman influence, the latter interval used mainly in the lower tetrachord affected also the Neo-Byzantine church music by colouring it with Middle Eastern Oriental shades.

Deljana was careful to explain the role and mood of each Tone (Alb. *Tingull*, *Za*/Zë singular, *Tinguj*, *Zana*/*Zëra*, plural), i.e. the eight groups or Echoi into which the Neo-Byzantine melodies of the hymns are divided. However, there was obviously some confusion on the topic since the interviewer misunderstood the term *multi-Tones* (Eight Tones) as meaning multi-voices similar to the part-songs of South Albania. This confusion

was of minor significance given the circumstances of Albania's atheist climate, but, equally so, demonstrates that persecution was a likely punishment if a discussion on a religious subject had taken place or had been published. Because of this prolonged censure on the tradition of the Neo-Byzantine musical rite practised by the Albanian Orthodox communities during the 45 years of the totalitarian regime (1945–90), little was known of the latest development of the study of Neo-Byzantine and Classical Byzantine music and particularly of the "new" ways using the ison. Nevertheless, in spite of several instances of misinterpretation on the part of the reporters during the interview with the cantor, the statements and the singing of the latter are of significant importance.

Revitalization of the Greek Neo-Byzantine Chanting in Albania

The reconstruction of the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church started gradually after 1990. Greek Neo-Byzantine liturgical music and performance, based on the Crysanthine reform and re-introduced with a modern Greek vision, is now properly taught and guided by Greek, and recently Albanian, experts on Neo-Byzantine theology and chanting.

The following illustration, "Guri kur u vulos prej Judenjve" (While the stone was sealed by the Jews), First Tone, Audio Example 13, is an Apolytikion (Greek: Ἀπολυτίκιον) or Dismissal Hymn, sung by the Byzantine Choir "Saint John Koukouzel" of the Church of Albania. It was recorded in 2005 and clearly shows a Greek approach where, contrary to the Arbëresh approach, the distinct articulation of words, rhythmic pulsating syllables and ison moving along to the essential melodic tones, take special priority.

At the Orthodox Theological Academy in St. (Shën) Vlash Monastery, near Durrës, which I had a chance to visit, the students learn the Greek/Byzantine chanting by reading the neumes and using distinct hand signs, chironomy (cheironomy), in an amazingly scholarly way. The competent pedagogue Father Justin had achieved a great result in a relatively short time. Watching him teaching, while the students followed by singing and using gesticulations or hand gestures (chironomia) when each sign represented a musical value, I wondered yet again; why not create an Albanian, national musical liturgy where both liturgical ison and traditional folk iso could be blended in a more genuine form, and using some of the ancient melodies which are still preserved in some Arbëresh churches? Greeks, in their traditional music do not have an IMUS type, as

the South Albanians do, hence they, in fact the Byzantines, introduced a new feature, the ison, to give the musical liturgy's sound a greater integrity.

Russian Orthodox vocal music, for example, with its deep bass voices and harmonic singing flourished because of the use of folk tunes combined with the formation of foreign (Italian) music styles. This is why Noli aimed to form a choral chant based on some Russian chorals (aside from the support he had from the Russian Orthodox Church). The reason why Noli aimed to create a choral singing in the church, an inspiration that came also from the Russian choral music, was to turn the singing into a tribune for nationalist preaching, not very different from the choral distinctive songs of Korça, such as, for example, Mihal Grameno's "Për mëmëdhenë" (For My Motherland).

An isolated case is that of the Orthodox Church of Boboshtica, near Korçë. "Starting from the mid-19th century the Greek school associated the Boboshtars a little artificially with the Hellenic culture since their every day life was mixed with the Albanian, consecrating their relations with the orthodox Albanians through numerous marriages", and consequently, "they felt the Greek school to be foreign" (Mazon 1936, 4).[26]

Notes

[1] Classical Byzantine Chant covers the period from the 9th to the 15th century, from the end of Iconoclasm to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

[2] In the 9th century a treatise called *Scolica enchiriadis* (School Handbook) describes an existing practice of polyphonic singing called *Organum*.

[3] It should be pointed out that the Greek music theory up to Crysanthine reform was not based on a reference to musical instruments but on the voice.

[4] Ivan Moody, "Some Aspects of the Polyphonic Treatment of Byzantine Chant in the orthodox Church in Europe", published in *Musica se extendit ad omnia. Scritti in onore di Alberto Basso per il suo 7º compleanno*, a cura di Rosy Moffa e Sabrina Saccomani, Lucca, LIM, 2007, 67–73.

[5] A Christian worship practice.

[6] It should be stressed that what Tardo referred to as "Neo-Byzantine" notation, post-WWII musicology (Wellesz, Velimirović) termed "Middle Byzantine".

[7] *Rinofonia* (rhinophonia) is an alteration of the voice characterized by nasalization of sounds.

[8] Simon Karas (1905–1999), is a Greek musicologist who was active in collecting and preserving ancient musical manuscripts. He also wrote his own music, and performed as a chanter or singer.

[9] "Performance Practice and Politics of Transcribing Byzantine Chant", in *Acta Musicae Byzantinae VI*, pp. 57–76. Alexander Lingas, Assistant Professor, Arizona

State University School of Music Fellow, European Humanities Research Centre, University of Oxford, in http://analogion.com/Lingas.pdf

[10] For a wider view of these correspondences, i.e. on degrees, tetrachords, *ichoi* (*echoes*) and *makamlar* (plural of the Turkish *makam*), please refer to Zannos 1990, pp. 50, 51.

[11] The *chironomy* is the transcription of a series of *gestures* of the hand and/or fingers, each gesture representing a musical value.

[12] Papas Matteo Sciambra, born in Contessa Entellina in 1914, was ordained priest at Piana degli Albanesi in 1938. Graduated in Letters at the University of Palermo in 1952 where he held the post of the Chair of Albanian Language and Literature. Is remembered for his remarkable work dedicated to the valorization of the Byzantine liturgical musical patrimony of the Arbëresh communities of Sicily, of which it has left some collection of manuscripts. He died in 1967.

[13] Personal communication (interview) with Papa Giordano, 14 August 2006.

[14] Personal communication (interview) with Papa Giordano, 15 August 2006.

[15] He uses the term *chromatic* in a Western context, i.e., chromatic scale of classical Western music, and not in the Greek context which denotes the interval of the augmented second.

[16] Interview with the Bishop of the Eparchy of Lungro—Ercole Lupinacci, 16 August 2006.

[17] CD accompanying the volume *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina*, Coro della Byzantine Chanting, Schola Melurgica della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata diretto da Padre Lorenzo Tardo; registrazioni 1953–1956; Scelta e revisione dei brani: Padre Nicola Cuccia.

[18] CD "Theotokos to ònoma aftì" (Madre di Dio è il suo nome), Inni all Madre di Dio della tradizione bizantina di Piana degli Albanesi; Choro dei Papàs di Piana degli Albanesi: Papàs Giovanni Pecoraro, Papàs Marco Sirchia, Papàs Piergiorgio Scalia, Rosario Caruso, a cura di Girolamo Garofalo, Regione Siciliana, Assessorato Beni Culturali, Ambientali e P.I., in collaborazione con l'Eparchia di Piana degli Albanesi, 2003.

[19] CD Megalinario/Megàlinon, from Divina Liturgia della "Naività secondo la carne del Signore, Dio e Salvatore nostro" G. C.; XXV-o anniversario della consacrazione episcopale di S.E.R. Mons. Ercole Lupinacci (1981–2006), Tradizione della melurgia bizantina, Coro polifonico di rito bizantino–italo–albanese "San Nicola di Mira" della cattedrale di Lungro (CS).

[20] CD "Ioannis Koukouzelis", The Byzantine Maestro, Mathimata (Psalms-Sticheron-Kratima), Greek Byzantine Choir, directed by L. Angelopoulos, Jade, U.S.A., 1995.

[21] CD "Mesha Shqip", *Choral Masterpieces by the Albanian Orthodox Cathedral Choir of Boston*, Library of Congress, Very Reverend Arthur E. Liolin, Catalogue Card Number: 77–750676.

[22] CD "Mesha Shqip", *ibid.*

[23] Fan S. Noli, "Albumi dyzetvjeçar në Amerikë" (The Forty Years Album in America), Vatra, Boston Massachusetts, 1948, p. 12.

[24] "At the beginning of the 19th century the archbishop of Durrës, the Greek Chrysanthos of Madytos, put to use a new and very important reform of Byzantine notation. The role of this author is important because, it is understood, living in Albania during that period, he became the centre of a well developed musical ecclesiastical movement. This activity embraced Central Albania with its centre in Elbasan, where the archbishop's diocese was established. Tradition has it that in Elbasan there were church chants, particularly Easter songs, which continued to be sung to until the end of the Second World War" (*History of Albanian Music*, [1983] 1990, 13).

[25] According to the Byzantine definition of a *tone*, it can also be classified as *hard chromatic*.

[26] Analysing the fact that neither Greek nor Albanian was spoken in the village, Mazon informs us of a particular episode: "It is reported that there happened to be at St. Nicolas Mass a prelate from Korça, when it came to the reading of Evangel, there was much surprise on hearing an unknown language, a peasant tongue transformed into a church language. He addressed Ikonómo with the most violent reproach: "Τί εϊναι αϋτό, βρέ? Σεϊζ θέλετε χρεμάσει". The priest responded firmly that he was the master of his church. The prelate should have observed that the whole office was celebrated in Greek and since the majority of the believers were illiterate the priest could not leave them without an understanding of what had been preached" (Mazon, 1936, 12–13).

CHAPTER EIGHT

COEXISTENCE OF IMUS AND BYZANTINE CHANTING

It is not my intention to draw parallels between IMUS and Byzantine chanting, but rather to suggest that there are some analogies which make this topic challenging. However, I will try to avoid any imposing assessment, which may lead to some less than desirable outcomes.

The IMUS is a musical legacy of the Albanian and non-Albanian populations who have lived for centuries in the Southwest Balkans, or more specifically in the ex-Roman provinces of Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova created during Diocletian's reorganization. It is an oral tradition of archaic origin and has never been practised as a written music. It has been and still is practised by music lovers who generally belong to those particular areas where the singing styles of ethnic groups have been preserved. The IMUS practitioners represent a particular group tradition and feel that they are the authentic heirs of that culture.

Byzantine music of the Great Cathedrals has been represented by educated *psaltis* (cantor or chanter) and *protopsaltis* (first chanter) and has always been a written music—the neumes of different periods.

The existing analogies and differences between the IMUS repertoires and Byzantine music tradition will be examined within a relatively limited geographical territory comprising the Southwest Balkans and Southern Italy and Sicily to the west. The iso(n) practice, which associates these two completely different cultures, was introduced into the Southwest Balkans presumably from different eastern directions. The territory of the Southwest Balkans served as a melting pot for both of the iso(n) practices and traditions. From the early 14th century, the Constantinople schools found it difficult to exercise their teaching in an isolated or even cut-off area of Epirus, and when the ison began to be elaborated in the main centres of the Byzantine Empire, it took substantial time to be absorbed by the cantors of the Epirus region.

When discussing the urban song in my previous book on "Albanian Urban Lyric Song in the 1930s", I wrote that the regions of Southern

Albania and Epirus were inclined to retain the pentatonic usage (or the "diatonicised" pentatonic), the rural aspect of the music; the latter practice, which over the centuries had been well consolidated, was particularly resistant to the new Middle Eastern influences. Jane Sugarman, in a review of the above mentioned book, highlighted two arguments: that the IMUS "developed in pre-Ottoman times and was later accommodated to Ottoman-era practices" and that "Koço hypothesizes that the strong pentatonic and polyphonic basis of southern music prevented the *makam* system from making major inroads there" (see Sugarman 2005). I am not sure how much the IMUS was accommodated to Ottoman-era practices, but I still feel positive that the strong pentatonic and polyphonic basis of South Albanian and North Greek music, or the Southwest Balkan mode, did not allow the *makam* system to make major inroads there. Since the IMUS is a product of a tradition which developed in the Byzantine period, its accommodation to Byzantine culture in general and folk music culture in particular must be taken into consideration. Addressing the Greek Epirotic polyphonic song, Kosta Loli has given his view on the folk multipart repertories and Byzantine liturgical traditions: "Byzantine music, ecclesiastical and secular, develops within its own creative and performing conservative rules. The Epirotic polyphonic song also developed within unwritten musical polyphonic rules in a concrete Orthodox geographic area. Both musical cultures coexist in separate frameworks and styles. Together they also find their way towards agreement" (Loli 2006, 22–3).

Kruta's statement that "the drone does not come from Byzantium" and that "if the iso had penetrated into South Albanian traditional song from the Byzantine chant, it would have also diffused to the central Albanian regions, and, certainly, to the other traditional songs of the Balkan peoples", has become a point of reference not only for Kruta. Tole supports Kruta's view that "the traditional music of other Balkan nations, such as Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania and particularly Greece, although having had an influence from the Byzantine or Bogomil liturgy, there is no evidence that this music has known the bourdon" (Kruta 1991, 69). Tole also stresses: "The ison in the Byzantine chant is not organic" (Tole 1999, 53). This argument follows on from Kruta who states that "in Byzantine chants the bourdons are not organic; they can be left out without reducing the expressive power of the musical line. … In contrast, in our polyphonic songs, the absence of one of the voices leads to the malfunction of the polyphonic logic" (Kruta 1991, 69–70). By emphasising that "in Byzantine chants the bourdons are not organic" I assume that Kruta wanted to explain that the ison is sometimes not needed once the intervals are properly learnt and the pitch is correctly maintained

by the chanters. Therefore, the intervals could be chanted with or without the ison. Shupo maintains that in Albanian polyphonic singing there are several cases when the iso is missing; "In all cases of polyphonic songs without the iso, other voices expose the same idiosyncrasies and functions which are related to the iso-based songs, however, in those the iso is simply missing" (Shupo 2004, 25). Lloyd, on the same Byzantine query and commenting on traditional ballads from the Gjirokastër region, has raised the following question; given "the profusion of interjected 'nonsense syllables' thrown for the rhythmic effect", was it "a device borrowed from Orthodox Church chanting or was the loan the other ways about?" (Lloyd 1968, 220). He had already put forward this hypothesis in another review on Albanian traditional songs, in which he remarked: "Some of the four-part pieces … are made rhythmically supple by an astonishing proliferation of interjected syllables (a borrowing from church practice?)" (Lloyd 1967, 124).

In the song "Why My Feet Got So Weak" (Këmb' o këmbë pse m'u pretë), Audio Example 3, the use of meaningless nonsensical syllables in the text is a form of articulation of the verse line (see the second voice part: *o m'u ë së jo ho, mu-ju-ër të moj de-je e shtë o-ho*). In my view, in the Southwest Balkans where the IMUS and local Byzantine chant were employed, the term "meaningless syllables" differs from that of the Western connotation. The concept of reiterating syllables is not entirely "meaningless". In Albanian folk poetry the so-called *fictive* stanzas develop in multipart songs to produce a *fictive* strophe which should be written out, however, as it is sung, with all the "meaningless syllables". The oral and popularised tradition of making use of musically attractive syllables is a well-known form of the folk poetry used in the South Albanian multipart songs. The long co-existence in the same geographical area of the IMUS and the local Byzantine "poor churches" chanting, gave the "meaningless syllables", despite of their very different approaches and styles, a deeper significance than what may audibly convey.

In another review, Lloyd goes a little further with his somewhat bold arguments: "of the heptatonic modes familiar in Western folk song, Albanian villagers seem to prefer the Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian. Scales resembling those of the Byzantine liturgy are also met with, notably the VIth *ekhos* with its augmented seconds between steps 2–3 and 6–7, that well-known boon to composers in search of cut-rate Oriental colouring!" (Lloyd 1963, 144). It is obvious that some ambiguity arises here when the Ottoman *Hicaz* type mode and Plagal of the Byzantine Second Tone are examined.

As noted earlier, coming from outside Europe and being spread among several other North Mediterranean countries (as well as South Mediterranean), the ison found itself established in the multipart unaccompanied singing of the Southwest Balkans and the Byzantine liturgical singing with its basis in Constantinople and Mount Athos. Its role was the same, to sustain the final tone of the tune. "In eastern Europe and the Mediterranean a darker, drone-based-tonality of narrow range, with links to ancient Byzantine or Islamic practice, has evolved alongside pentatonic tunes" (James Porter, Grove Music Online 2006). It is clear that this description is hypothetical since no musical sources exist to prove this theory and without contemporary musical or literary evidence it is difficult to certify their "ancient Byzantine" or "ancient Islamic" origins. Given the fact that the iso(n) singing pedal employed in the church singing was also used in multipart secular singing with the same function and the same name, with similar improvised ornamentation patterns and the use of micro-tones, it can be suggested that multipart unaccompanied singing and Byzantine liturgical or secular music could have each exercised influence on the other.

Being the strongest bond between these two forms of singing, not excluding other components mentioned above, the iso(n) provided the best way to convey the feeling of the music that was practised in the Southwest Balkans. An interaction of the Byzantine music with the local tradition of the IMUS in the Southwest Balkan area (ex-Roman Epiri, Vetus and Nova) would have been normal because the populations of this region, mainly Albanians, but also the Vlachs, Greeks and to a lesser degree Slavs, had points of contact and interaction not only in their places of worship but, more importantly, in their everyday lives as well. All across the regions dominated at that time by Christian Orthodox populations, the monasteries in which the chants and hymns of liturgical music were practised also acted as centres for the practice of local folk music. Therefore, musical borrowing and lending was a natural and often unconscious process.

On a wider spectrum, melodic outlines and patterns of folk origin (not solely from the Southwest Balkans but across the Byzantine Empire) also suggest an interaction between the folk-song repertories and musical liturgical tradition. The iso(n) of both secular and liturgical traditions, in their earlier period, shaped features of the Medieval Byzantine culture and over the course of time the Byzantine ison incorporated in itself new Middle Eastern traits. Although the ison of Byzantine chanting functioned as a totally separate and different style from the traditional folk singing, it served the same purpose: to supply a tonal reference point for the melodies. This tonal reference, however, is not the only element of correspondence

between the IMUS and liturgical Byzantine traditions; the interjected syllables of the text are used in both iso(n) practices. A combination of a syllabic iso sung to the text-words and the humming of the words of the verse line which accompanies the melodic-line, is a characteristic of Gjirokastër IMUS styles. In the Byzantine chanting the ison holders sing together with the *psalti* (chanters) by saying, in certain places, the syllables of the text. The path from a rhythmic/syllabic ison to a hummed one before again resuming the syllabic ison, displays, from the point of view of technique rather than perception, a remarkable correspondence between the Gjirokastër IMUS and some forms of Byzantine chanting. As far as the ison breathing—as part of an entire musical phrase or closing verse line—is concerned, that of the Byzantine chanting has some fascinating parallels with the Tosk IMUS styles; in the latter the ison constantly holds the sound over the long phrases, while in the former the ison line carries on uninterruptedly, however, it changes to humming and resumes when the *psalt* (chanter) continues the melody.

Ramadan Sokoli remarks that "at the beginning of each *pleqërishte* (old men) singing, usually the leader of the group briefly marks the tone of the iso by oscillating his voice in a "gruppetto" form around this tone, which terminates with a descending glissando" (Sokoli 1965, 129). Having observed the intoning process among Prespa singers, Sugarman interpreted it in a different way: "Before beginning the song proper, he or she intones the syllables *e-o*. This intonation serves in part as a signal that someone is about to sing and those others in the room should curtail their conversations and prepare to join in on the drone" (Sugarman 1997, 64). In discussing a record on Hymns of the Epitaphios and Easter, which included church services as well as folk songs from various Greek provinces and islands, Velimirović points out that "the second band contains a practice not observed in most churches, that of singing the intonation for the mode prior to the chanting. These intonations are found in mediaeval manuscripts but are never heard now in 'normal' services. It is therefore of substantial interest to observe these intonations as they lead into the hymns" (Velimirović 1978, 384).

As far as the *apechema* (απηχημα) or *echema* is regarded,[1] in the following dialog Wellesz quotes Tardo's discussion on the intonation formulae:

"How do you start, if you want to begin a Sticheron or another hymn of that kind?"

"According to the Intonation"

"What is the Echema?"

"The layout of the Mode"

"And how do you intone?"
"Anane Anes"
"What does that mean?"
"This is the approved and very useful beginning; when you hear it you will admire the singer who executes the Intonation" (Wellesz 1949, 251).

Strunk observing the intonation process in an article dedicated entirely to the Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes stressed: "The formula of intonation, sung by a solo singer, the Canonarch or Protopsaltes, serves as a link connecting the verse with the chant that follows … it serves as a preparation and as an announcement of the mode" (Strunk 1945, 353–354). Has the Byzantine intonation left any imprint on the intonation feature used in the IMUS? In this case any speculation that folk music could have borrowed from church music, or vice versa, is hard to prove.

Thus, the "tone of the iso", as Sokoli described it, of multipart unaccompanied singing and the *apechema* (intonation formula) of Byzantine music seem to play the same role: the apechema of *Nenano* (Second Plagal Tone; see Notation Example 17), representing an ascending interval of a fourth, is a tetrachord of a "chromatic" nature and genus (containing an augmented second), which strikingly matches the *Hicaz* tetrachord (makam) in Ottoman/Turkish classical music theory, followed by a diatonic tetrachord. On the other hand, the intonation formula of the IMUS is strictly pentatonic.

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After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, large numbers of Albanians and Greeks fled to Italy and Sicily. Judging by their Byzantine (almost entirely oral) musical legacy, their specific repertoire and "classical" Oktoechos organisation, it could be said that the Byzantine chants of Southern Albania and northern Greece belonged to the "poor churches" tradition and did not strictly follow Constantinople musical principles, but rather allowed adaptations, in fact corruptions, of mainstream scholarly teachings. The two modes of iso(n), secular and ecclesiastical, introduced into the Southwest Balkans through the eastern routes in the mid-medieval period were only in the process of being formed and did not reach Italian shores as a consolidated element of Byzantine chant or traditional secular multipart singing. That is why only segments of holding notes of a drone type could be found in Arbëresh multipart traditional singing, whereas evidence of the use of the ison in Byzantine chant in the early stage of Albanian emigration is difficult to verify. However, the introduction of the

ison for use in Byzantine chant, or rather Neo-Byzantine chant, brought by the clerics from the East, can be considered as belonging to the late-medieval period.

Returning for a moment to the Arbëresh singing, liturgical and non-liturgical, we can note that a strong reason as to why it did not employ a clear iso(n) as in its supposed country of origin is, I would like to reiterate, that this new component of multipart singing was only on the eve of its configuration as a sustained droning sound. In the Balkans, conversely, the iso(n) developed conspicuously and took on an important role. In Byzantine singing, initially as a foundation of the mode, the ison stayed unchanged on the same note, but later it took the role of an intermittent pitch change and jumped down when the melody moved down. In contrast, in the IMUS of the Southwest Balkans, the iso dwelt within the framework of a pentatonic and archaic origin of singing, but it developed largely towards various stylistic forms and structures.

As far as an ecclesiastical and secular interrelationship is regarded, Çabej arrived at a significant conclusion that Byzantine liturgical practice penetrated into folk-song tunes of the Arbëresh as well as the chants of South Albanian Orthodox Church:

> Albania is also the land where Oriental-Islamic tunes are mingled with the Byzantine tunes found here, which became familiar to the people through the church. Differentiation between them becomes more difficult because Arabo-Islamic tunes were formerly mingled in the Orient with Byzantine tunes … More apparent are the influences of medieval Byzantine tunes on liturgical and religious song and its dissemination from here to the secular song of the Albanians of Italy and also to the church song of the Orthodox Christians of South Albania (Çabej 1975, 128–9).

During Ottoman times, multipart singing inclined towards a more powerful character, both urban and rural, emphasising its pentatonic spectrum and the ison feature. New characteristic features were developed within the structure of the song.

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In a certain period of development of multipart unaccompanied singing, the iso/drone evolved alongside the modes, voicing the rhythmic patterns that this type of singing employed. Although certain similarities can be found in Albanian multipart singing and Georgian polyphonic singing (for example: in structure, in a rhythmic pulse of 3/8, the leading solo voice and even in modalities), we should, however, be careful in attempting to

draw parallels and finding points of contact between them. As Velimirović puts it "we all know from experience that similar and occasionally even 'identical' melodic segments may be 'discovered' and undoubtedly will continue to be noted in the future when melodies of territorially distant groups are placed side by side, whether they are related to each other in their religious allegiance or not" (Velimirović 1982, 119).

The IMUS of the Southwest Balkans differs substantially from what one hears in other parts of the world, such as Sardinia, Sicily, Calabria and as far as East Georgia, in the Caucasus. As far as the "religious" issue is concerned, it can be assumed that there was a link in the use of the drone between liturgical singing (Byzantine chants) and non-liturgical singing (secular multipart songs) as it is in the case of Georgia. Discussing "the folk music of Georgian tribes living chiefly in the more remote and almost inaccessible valleys of the High Caucasus", Ernst Emsheimer points out that:

> their folk songs, especially those associated with ancient rites, sacrifices and dances, present numerous analogies with the *organum* compositions of the European Middle Ages. Thus, in an example that can now to be heard, two singers alternate in singing the text while the choir accompanies them in long and textless pedal tones. It is evident that what we have here has to do with a bourdon or drone technique which is related to the Byzantine *ison* practice and which, in the treatises of medieval theorists, is called *Diaphonia basilica* (Emsheimer 1967, 56).

The analogy with Southwest Balkan multipart singing and its role as a secular and religious music is striking. However, the difference is that the Southwest Balkan IMUS developed as a drone-based practice of narrow range within the pentatonic modal system, whereas Georgian vocal techniques have been adapted for a broader range, not too distant from Russian folk singing, and of colourful diatonic modes. I have formed the opinion, although not without hesitation, that the polyphonic concept in Southwest Balkan singing is closer to the medieval European polyphony since the voice movements are more independent and tend to avoid melodic and rhythmic parallelisms.

In an article on the polyphonic songs of North Epirus, Peristeris underlines that similar singing styles like those of northern Greece and South Albania can be encountered in other Mediterranean regions, such as Istria, Dalmatia, Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), Bosnia, and all the way up to the Caucasus in Georgia and Armenia.

Subsequently, he makes two interesting observations: "Some of their musical elements, such as the Ison or the Ghyristis melody on the tonic

and subtonic, are also found in Byzantine church music which leads to another question: could these local folk songs have been influenced by Byzantine music in those countries where Byzantine civilisation had flourished?" (Peristeris 1964, 52). As far as the "Ghyristis [answerer's] melody on the tonic and subtonic" is concerned, I would view Peristeris' proposal with some reservation since the primary role of these degrees or tonalities is mainly connected with the diatonic and chromatic modes of the Southwest Balkans rather than the pentatonic. *Tonic* and *subtonic* melodic formulae, which are derived from tonic and subtonic tonalities, are distinct as being the most important degrees of the mode. However, when it comes to the question of whether "these local folk songs have been influenced by Byzantine music in those countries where Byzantine civilisation had flourished" we can share several opinions with Peristeris, while also leaving room for some differences. The proposal made by Peristeris in 1958 was re-evaluated twenty-five years later by Baud-Bovy. The latter remarks that as a result of:

> these vocal polyphonic features, in one form or another, being practised over the whole Tosk region of Albania (south of the river Shkumbin), which is quite marginal in Epirus, one might be tempted to accept one of Spiridon Peristeris' hypotheses and consequently to see in this polyphony a survival from a grassroots tradition, which would not necessarily exclude the possibility of its being influenced by Byzantine religious music since the region was predominantly orthodox (Baud-Bovy 1983, 55).

Ignazio Macchiarella has recently studied the interactions between folk multipart repertories linked to the liturgical and para-liturgical traditions, as part of the north Mediterranean musical culture such as the Sardinian and Sicilian.[2] In his essay analysing these interactions, "The Variety of Multipart Singing Structures in Sicily", he especially devotes his attention to the *lamintazi* (from *lamintari*, to mourn), one of the main expressions of the Sicilian traditional music, as well as the only living polyphonic practice in the Island. He notes that the *lamintazi* mostly share a clear dichotomy between soloists' parts (one, two or three singers alternatively) and a choral accompaniment or drone. During the ritual performances the singers stand motionless in a circle. Beyond the *lamintazi*, the other multipart Sicilian singing forms are the heritages of ancient peasant repertory. As can be seen, several common elements with the Albanian IMUS occur. Of course, the music styles are not the same, but the mourning character, the solo parts, the drone and the ancient peasant background all associate them with each other. Could the IMUS of the

medieval period be also part of the para-litugical rituals and processions during festive periods?

Vasil Tole is another who views the Albanian IMUS as being generated from an ancient, mythological lamenting process. His personal interpretation of Homer's *Odyssey* aims to discover the ancient origins of this practice. Tole believes that the appeal of the Sirens' voices was a perpetual lament in the form of a "mourning Iso-polyphonic texture, a particularity which it is still found today in the ex-territories of ancient Epirus, in *Lab* Iso-polyphony" (Tole 2005, 25).

Notes

[1] In Byzantine music the term *apechema* means a short musical phrase preceding the chant and serving as an intonation formula or introduction to the scale or family of scales the chant belongs to.

[2] Ignazio Macchiarella earned his doctorate from Bologna University in 1991 and has conducted field research in Sicily, Sardinia and southern Italy.

CHAPTER NINE

THE IMUS APPROPRIATION

In this closing part of my survey I will focus on the coexistence of IMUS with powerful and dominant administrations, cultures and ideologies, in particular Byzantine, Ottoman and Communist. Over the course of many centuries the IMUS underwent substantial changes and variations and the drone/iso, which functioned as a basis for supporting the melody, served to maintain the unification of an entire area of people's customs, dialects, faiths and ethnic consciousnesses. Its ability of holding a constant sound, supporting musical expression and encouraging participation, mirrored the holding together of the ethnic populations of the Southwest Balkans, and Albanian populations in particular, who practised the IMUS.

At this stage of my research I am now more certain that there were agro-pastoral and nomadic populations of the Southwestern Balkans, particularly in the ex-Roman Epiri, Vetus and Nova, who spread pentatonic singing—multipart and monophonic or monadic—in various directions and, between the 11th and 14th centuries, began to identify it with specific characteristics of a genuine regional culture. There was a time when IMUS lived as part of a multi-ethnic musical expression of a large Eastern Orthodox community in the Southwest Balkans. This was a time when no nation states existed and ethnicity was not easy to define.

At the dawn of its formation as indigenous cultural contexts, the IMUS embedded languages and social activities practised in the Byzantine world interacted with this culture. The iso itself did not play the same role as it did in a later period; its sound production was much softer and its mission was only to participate in, rather than support multi-part harmonies above it. There are still remote areas where an embryonic and undeveloped iso(n) can be heard, away from the festival-type performances. As the IMUS structures, styles and linguistic idioms developed, its predominance, around the 14th century onwards, extended as more of an Albanian-speaking musical culture.

After the year 1350, when the ethnic composition of the region began to change, especially during the Ottoman era which saw the definition of new administrative territories and the Islamisation of part of the Albanian

population, the IMUS not only progressed to the more elaborated formal structures but its Albanian character emerged as a distinctive feature. The multipart singing, which started as a pan-Southwest Balkan phenomenon and to which different ethnic populations contributed in its formation, aimed to serve as a unifying and identifying force for the Albanians. Since the regional cultures were constantly borrowing from each other, the Albanians felt that they had every right to give a new emphasis to their ancestral musical patrimony through the adoption of some new elements to their shared musical culture, such as the strengthening of the ison and new epic character given to the IMUS.

The embrace of Islam by many when this region was under Ottoman rule did not involve an appropriation of the IMUS into an Islamic culture. The practitioners of the IMUS belonged to two different religions but were united by a common cultural heritage of which the IMUS was a defining and enduring aspect. Rather than alter the core of the IMUS, this religious mix simply created a stronger Albanian variant of this repertory. The newer dynamics given to IMUS should not be understood as an Islamic contribution to the Albanian song profile. Exactly the opposite occurred. Although religion, not ethnic descent or language, was the first criterion for identification in the Ottoman *millet* system (in which the population was politically segmented according to religion), the IMUS proved able to survive and flourish as pre-Ottoman culture. This was an exceptional example of a well-consolidated musical culture. Albanian musical and poetical culture could not, however, develop entirely independently without being influenced by other regional ethnical cultures, the Greek in particular. In the 18th and 19th centuries the frontiers between ethnic populations, especially between Albanians and Greeks, were very difficult to determine. The process of the consolidation of Albanian ethnicities, which led to a national identity, had, to a certain degree, some impact on other regional musical cultures. However, as the Albanian lexicon has borrowed words from a variety of other languages, it has also shared and even landed musical and poetical idioms with/to its neighbours.

Jane Sugarman makes an attentive observation description of the Southwest Balkan multipart singing in this way:

> Neither of the polyphonic textures characteristic of South Albanian singing is unique to Albanians. The Lab style is shared with Greeks in the north-western district of Epirus, while the Tosk styles are common among Aromân communities from the Kolonjë region of Albania, the so-called Fârşeroţii, and among Slavs from the Kastoria district of northern Greece. Macedonians in the lower villages of the Prespa district also formerly sang in this style. Pentatonic, drone-based polyphonic singing is thus a practice

> common to all the rural, pre-Ottoman linguistic groups living within and adjacent to Southern Albania. As is true for many world areas, musical styles may be specific more to geographic regions than to individual ethnic groups (Sugarman 1997, 356).

The Prespa community, like many in the region, gradually adopted Islam as its dominant religion, yet its music remained the same as it had been in the pre-Ottoman period (allowing for the natural process of transformation) and did not adopt substantial features of Ottoman styles; it continues to be practised up to the present day as pentatonic, drone-based multipart singing. The fact that the Prespians, and other Southwest Balkan populations, converted to Islam had almost no impact on their music and singing; the musical styles of this region, where three or more different nations are situated, are distinctive and are shared with the Christian Orthodox Albanians and Vlachs, as well as their Greek neighbours. Leaving aside religious identity it is important to emphasise that the communities of the Southwest Balkans to this day still cultivate their local and regional musical tradition; this is indigenous and far older than the Ottoman practices introduced into Albania with the arrival of the Turks in the Balkans.

During Albania's years of totalitarianism culture became institutionalised and few attempts were made to appropriate the IMUS into a nationalist ideology. In this period special attention was given to folklore, and the IMUS was seen as one of the best vehicles for incorporating epic-historic tradition into the organisation of massive national celebrations. Although Albanian theoretical studies were inclined to depict the IMUS as only Albanian, they did not accuse other ethnic populations of falsely appropriating their cultural legacy. They considered the non-Albanian contributions only as a "borrowing" process on their part. This is because the Albanians felt comfortable with and were already the owners of this kind of music-making.

However, there was a different kind of appropriation, a doctrinal nationalist one. The IMUS was often conceived by the totalitarian nationalist ideology as an isolated phenomenon, thoroughly Albanian (Tosk or Lab), or sometimes simply called *polifonia labe* (the Lab polyphony) and not as a broader musical and regional multipart concept as well as a shared practice with the non-Tosk, non-Lab and non-Albanian cultures. Although Albania had been only politically and not physically isolated from nearby regions, the IMUS had been treated as a national and cultural identity, in which case, the totalitarian ideology acted as a cultural appropriation. Consequently, this ideology with its insistence on its

doctrine revealed that the non-Albanian IMUS, for instance, was only a product of "borrowing", i.e. imitation or assimilation from the Albanians.

Seen from their own perspective, Nitsiakos and Mantzos have stated their view that:

> Musical traditions, such as polyphonic singing, have long provided a powerful symbol and a medium for the promotion of national ideologies and the ascription of national identities. They constitute a symbol, because, through their anonymous collectivity, these musical traditions were idealized as living proof of the cultural particularity of the nation; and they act as a medium, because, through their performance aspect, these traditions offered the state, but also to local societies, a collective space where ideas about the nation could be literally "embodied" (Nitsiakos & Mantzos 2003, 195–196).

As discussed in Chapter Five, the origin of the Aromanian/Vlachs has been a question of some controversy and in recent times it has been reignited as an argument between proponents of the two main views; the pro-Greek and the pro-Romanian. The pro-Romanian camp refers to the Aromanian/Vlach IMUS as "Fărşeroţi" (Secară mentions that "the Fărşerot repertoire consists mainly of *cănţiţi di 'mpadi* [polyphonic songs], called also songs with 'e'"), whereas those of the Greek view, for the same songs, use the terms "Vlachoi" or "Arvanitovlachoi" (Albanian Vlachs). In using the name "Fărşeroţi", the pro-Romanian scholars intended to create a generalised term for the whole region inhabited by the Aromanian/Vlachs. At the centre of their definition is the language; Latinised and with roots in common Roman, this language spoken by the indigenous population was a powerful unifying force. On the other hand, the pro-Greek wing considered the Albanian IMUS to be an ideologically totalitarian form of music. However, they created their own version of this phenomenon by treating the Northern Greek IMUS as "one of the most ancient monuments within the Greek musical tradition" (Zotos 1978, 5).

Since 1991, migratory movements of South Albanians towards other countries and the splitting up of some of the IMUS groups who kept the tradition alive have meant that IMUS practice has been undergoing something of a momentary crisis. It cannot be said that the ancient form of this tradition is now being jeopardised since the IMUS is still alive in the souls of the ethnic populations of South Albania. Perhaps a new tradition will emerge, as a less festival-type practice (away from the imposed teachings and choreographies of the former socialist type). Meanwhile, exploration of this tradition is experiencing something of a vogue in Greek Epirus, in a band extending from the Ionian Sea to the west, the Kalamas

(Thiamis) river to the south, and up to Konica to the east. I had the opportunity to visit a few places in this region and I noticed that a great deal of effort was being made to create a new tradition of amateur IMUS groups, aiming to promote and research this genre, and issuing CDs as well as organizing folk festivals. Thinking about these late developments on both sides of the frontier, I asked myself whether this was a new phase where an intercultural communication could be transformed into cultural appropriation. Was it a kind of contest to determine which group was the authentic heir to the tradition, and which was the appropriator? In the past, both Communist and Hellenistic nationalist ideologies failed to recognise that the IMUS culture is mostly a regional occurrence based upon different ethnicities and for this reason will always be resistant to artificially imposed cultural changes.

In the last thirty years or so, some new theories have emerged in connection with another form of appropriation of IMUS, that of the ecclesiastical character. The *Schwebungsdiaphonie* or *Roughness diaphony* proposal was introduced initially by Messner (see Messner, 1980) and then followed by other musicologists. It is described, as Franz Foedermayr and Werner A. Deutsch put it, as a musical genre where the central intervals interfere in such a manner that they correspond to the psychoacoustic definition of maximum roughness. In dealing with roughness, it should be focused on sensory dissonance since this is defined in psychoacoustics as the sensation of more or less roughness when two or more tones are sounding together. Brandl, in a paper given at the 1989 Tirana Symposium, developed this theory and emphasised the role of roughness or dissonant diaphony and its similarities to the sounding of church bells (Brandl 1990/1).

Parallels between multipart singing and church bells or Byzantine music have been highlighted by several scholars; for instance Rytis Ambrazevičius on the Lithuanian *sutartinės* and bells and Ivan Moody on Sardinian polyphony and Byzantine chant, as well as proposals on similar lines by Emsheimer, Nowacki and others. I don't intend here to examine their proposals; however, some, as in the case with the sounding of the church bells, do not allow for the establishment of precise assessments once removed from their indigenous cultural contexts—the agro-pastoral character. To do so would be to risk the music taking on meanings that are different from the environmental archaic background from which they originated or may, perhaps, be deprived of meaning altogether. There is a tendency to see this as the religious appropriation of secular musical traditions. The iso(n) was one of those elements which has been absorbed into both traditions, by folk, urban culture and ecclesiastical culture.

The shared musical and ethnographical traditions of the Southwest Balkans are the attributes and assets of the ethnic populations of this region. The *fustanella* (a pleated kilt or dress), claimed by both Albanians and Greeks as their traditional national costume, is associated with their practices and the shared influence of some of their common history; it is regarded by both with pride and as a mark of identity. But, it is not just the *fustanella*; there are other components of similar roles and functions, however, in some cases bearing different names, such as the instrumental *kaba* or *mirologia*, *saze* or *koumpaneia* (of mainly Gypsy professional ensembles), chamiko (*çamiko*) or *tsamiko*, *llauta* or *laouto*, the Pyrrhic dance, tetratonic and pentatonic tunes, tonic and subtonic tonalities, common trochaic and iambic verses and, above all, the Iso(n), secular and ecclesiastical. All of which represent the continuity of these earlier traditions.

APPENDIX A

HYPOTHESES ON A POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANCIENT GREEK MUSIC AND ISO-BASED MULTIPART UNACCOMPANIED SINGING (IMUS)

When I was about to start working on A Journey of Vocal Iso(n), I applied for a grant from the AHRC and they very kindly approved my project. The procedure required that an anonymous assessor had to give his opinion too. The following paragraph is part of his assessment which I found very exciting; however, it never occurred to me that the Byzantine ison, or even traditional secular iso, could have links with the ancient Greek music. After reading several articles and books on this topic, I have so far been unable to come across anything satisfying. Here is the anonymous assessor's paragraph:

> It is very likely that the ison has its roots in ancient Greek music, as descriptions in ancient musical treatises (Aristoxenus, Aristides Quintilianus e.t.c) of how tetrachords and pentachords are organized into scale systems, and of the rules governing monophony and heterophony (polyvocality or polyphony) may provide evidence of the existence of that early time of Ison-like practices. It can safely be assumed that a drone moving between the fixed (estotes) notes of the ancient Immutable system might produce something similar to the moving of the Ison within an Ochtoechos mode (Anonymous Assessor).[1]

Music was an important part of Greek ancient theatre and the drama was interspersed with songs sung by actors and by the chorus who also preformed dances. Ancient musical instruments which changed and were modified several times during the centuries included the lyre, aulos,[2] kithara (a new type of lyre or probably phorminx) and harp. The aulos with its double-reed pipes, used in unison, was supposed to have also provided intervals of fourths or fifths as well as a drone. Some theories have gone one step further by suggesting that when accompanying the

chorus with an aulos, the drone may have also been held in the chorus. The songs of the Greek classical drama were composed by authors who provided music for the actors, chorus and dancers (choreography for the chorus), but also trained them, in other words they had various tasks to perform. The role of the musicians was to accompany the chorus on the stage.

The study of Greek Esoteric Music in connection with other Esoteric Disciplines (e.g. numerology, astrology and alchemy) may provide some useful background in the search for the roots of the ison; I am not in a position to present a hypothesis in this field of research but I do feel there are some very good reasons for doubting such claims. In the early 19th century, the Greek Archimandrite Chrysanthos, writing in his "Theory", believing that the Ancient Greek theory of genera (Diatonic, Chromatic and Enharmonic) and shades or colours (using different interval sizes) was fostered, to a certain extent, by Middle Eastern influences (Persian, Arabic and Turkish music), as well as Greek folk music, attempted to apply it to the Modern Greek Church. Egon Wellesz commented:

> It was long held that Byzantine chant derived from classical Greek music. The words were Greek, the modes were Greek, and the musical theory was Greek. It was concluded that the melodies too must be of Greek origin. The argument that the melodies are sung to Greek words loses much of its validity when it is realised that many of the Greek words texts are translations or adaptations of Syriac poetry. The second argument is equally ill-founded: the Byzantine system of eight modes, the *Oktoechos*, actually goes back to the *Oktoechos* of Severus, the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch (512–519), although the choice of eight for the number of modes may have been due to the Hellenistic influence. The third argument is only valid (Wellesz 1947, 26).

Some Albanian musicologists, writers and analysts, as well as some north-Epirotic Greek musicians,[3] share the belief that a form of traditional multipart singing has been practised since the ancient times, perhaps from the times of the classical Greek theatre and its chorus. They imply a link between these two kinds of singing. Actually, there are some elements which make some enthusiasts think of the idea that odd similarities and common features between them exist such as, for example, the tragic element or the laments. The journalist Julian Evans, in a review on the prominent Albanian writer Ismail Kadare, commented that: "As a southern Albanian Kadare is grounded in the Epirote song tradition that some scholars claim as a pattern for the chorus of Greek tragedy" (see Evans 2005). Danielou[4] has commented that "it is quite probably that the

improvisations of the singers of Epirus do not differ greatly from those admired by Plato and Aristotle" (Baud-Bovy 1977, 165).

Although the idea of a link between the actors' solo and chorus singing in the ancient tragedy, and the Albanian IMUS is quite tempting, it is hardly probable. However, if for a moment we indulge our imagination and explore the possibilities of some of the unproven issues, such as a possible interaction between the IMUS and the ancient Greek classical chorus, several coincidences may be noted. Such similarities are based on the common local inheritance and origin of Greek and Illyrian/Epirotic peoples of the Homeric times, and, are striking enough to warrant further interest. The engagement of the chorus' leader, Coryphaeus, in dialogue with the characters of the tragedy and the importance of the chorus' function—to sing and dance choral songs—have also led people to insinuate parallels with the IMUS. Going back more than one thousand years earlier, when looking at a relief carving of a vase from Hagia Triada in Crete from around 1550–1500 BC (Fig. 13), one cannot completely ignore the impression that the three "choral" singers in the back and a soloist with a *sistrum* (*seistron*) in front are singing in a loud voice and top register, nor that the impression given is not so different from the, shall we say, traditional singers of the Skrapar region in Albania!

As far as the traditional multipart singing is regarded, this evolved as a *sui generis* folk genre and developed as a drone-based practice within the pentatonic modal system and with a specific structural pattern. The style of singing has been passed down orally through the years since time immemorial and possibly originated in this part of the Southwest Balkans. The song texts of the IMUS were created by the local bard/poets and were usually anonymous. Their poetic metre was based on the syllabic-tonic (accentual-syllabic) metre, which is a combination of the *tonic* type (or *accentual*, in which the number of syllables but not the number of accents per line varies) and the *syllabic* (which consists of a fixed number of syllables per line but with a variable number of accents). The Greek classical metre, on the other hand, was *quantitative*, that is the metre depended not on stress but on the "quantity" or duration of a syllable, and the foot consisted of "long" and "short" syllables. It is only around the 8th century AD that most of the Byzantine hymns had their music and the Greek texts were determined by the accents and not the quantities, which mean that all traces of quantity had disappeared from the spoken tongue.

The American linguist Eric Hamp who studied the early history of the development of Albanian language from Indo-European to common Albanian, suggests that the isogloss (the geographical boundary of a certain linguistic feature) is clear in all dialects and that it must be

relatively old, that is, dating back into the post-Roman first millennium. Hamp asserts that:

> the Albanians came in contact with the Romans, at which time their language may well have had a word structure and phonetic shape … It was into this structure that the many Latin loans were received to live on and develop alongside the I–E [Indo European] patrimony … Albanian (and Romanian) had very little contact with ancient Greek because it was located north of the so-called *Jireček Line*, which divides Greek and Roman inscriptional remains (Hamp 1994, 67).[5]

As can be seen, Hamp believes that pre-Albanian was scarcely in close contact with Greek in antiquity. However, Hamp also refers to Çabej who argued that a few ancient Greek loans fit well with a location in present-day Albania. He admits that Çabej's "points on the Doric character of the loans certainly look persuasive".[6]

If for a moment we suppose that the earliest traditional multipart singing would have been contemporary with the ancient Greek music, in what language could it have been sung? Might the tribes of that time have used ethnic linguistic mixtures of Illyrian, Greek or Thracian? This supposition, indeed, is not free from ambiguity. On the other hand, it is a good place to reiterate Hammond's statement that "the archaeological evidence shows that Greek culture, as revealed in pottery and other objects, did not penetrate into inland Epirus, except at Dodona and there only to a very limited extent, until the fourth century. The historical evidence in general and Thucydides' description of the tribes of inland Epirus as *barbaroi* are in agreement with the archaeological evidence" (Hammond 423, 1967).

The diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic genera used in ancient Greek music were quite different from the concept employed in the later centuries in Western music. The primary function of creating a *melos*, rather than *melõidia*, was to preserve the text, which was dominant in the work of the poet-composer, and tended to fit to the word accents. Thus, the melodisation of an ancient Greek poetry meant a setting of rhythmic and metrical patterns of long and short syllables of the text. "The rhythm, reflected in a formalized way the natural rhythm of the words, with their built-in opposition of longer and shorter durations. To a certain extent melody too had a basis in an intrinsic feature of the language … In strophic compositions, such as the majority of choral odes in tragedy, correspondence of accents and melody had been so composed as to have the same pattern of word accents" (West 2005, 197–198). Chromaticism (with reference to the Western sense), being "the use of semitone or other

intervals that are extraneous to the key or scale in which a piece is written, for ornamental or expressive effect" (West 1992, 196), was very much a part of the melodic language of the ancient Greek music. As far as the choral performance of the same period is concerned, it would have been based on unison singing, whilst the harmony, in the Western concept, did not exist.

Conversely, the IMUS organised either in two, three or four anhemitonic pentatonic parts or even the linear form of singing (monodic), did not fit any of the above characteristics of ancient Greek rhythmic, metric and melodic structures.

Notes

[1] Arts & Humanities Research Council**,** Assessment ID: 66536, Name of applicant: Dr Eno Koço—Application ID: 119335. The comments on this form are provided to inform the AHRC's peer review process. The views expressed on this form are those of the peer review assessor, and do not represent the views of the AHRC. Please note that comments provided below may have been anonymised.

[2] Some scholars say that one *aulos* was used to hold a constant drone (a note sustaining a long period of time) while the other was used for the melody.

[3] Epirus—Polyphony and Petroloukas Chalkias, a programme prepared by Lucy Duran, broadcast on Saturday, 14 August 2004, 15:00 on BBC Radio 3 http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p005xk9d

[4] Alain Daniélou (1907–1994) is the author of more than thirty books on the religion, history, and arts of India and the Mediterranean.

[5] The *Jireček Line* is an imaginary line between ancient Greek and Latin spheres of influence in the Balkans. Konstantin Josef Jireček was a 19th–century Czech scholar.

[6] "The Position of Albanian", by Eric P. Hamp, University of Chigaco, *Ancient IE dialects*, Proceedings of the Conference on IE linguistics held at the University of California, Los Angeles, April 25–27, 1963, ed. by Henrik Birnbaum and Jaan Puhvel.

APPENDIX B

A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT ON SOME CHURCH PERSONALITIES OF ILLYRICUM, EPIRUS AND ALBANIA UP TO THE 16TH CENTURY

It was during the Roman occupation of the Balkans that Christianity was introduced into Illyria in the 1st century AD; Saint Paul writes that "from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum, I have fully proclaimed the gospel of Christ" (Rom. 15:19–20). Perhaps the earliest Christian bishop who launched his activity in Illyria was Bishop Caesar (Alb. Qesar) of Dyrrhachium in 70 AD. Saint Astius (Alb. Shën Asti) followed as the Bishop of Dyrrhachium at the time of Emperor Traianus (Trajan) reign (98–117 AD). It is known that in the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea convened in 325 AD by the Illyrian origin Emperor, Constantine the Great, the Christian bishops from Illyria (the present Eastern Albania and Kosova) took place. Several years later, in 342 and 343, another Ecumenical Council was called, the Council of Sardica, in which Eastern bishops took part, among them several from Dardania, Epirus Nova and Epirus Vetus. It is in the Illyrian territory that the earliest music composed by Nicetas Dardáni, a bishop in the city of Remesiana in Dardania, can be traced. Nicetas, often called "a Dacian bishop at the opening of the 5th century",[1] who is thought to be the author of the *Te Deum Laudamus* (We praise Thee, O God), was a representative of the cultural life of Ramesiana and particularly of that style of ecclesiastical music which represented a much wider area than that of Nicetas's origins.[2]

The statement of Sathas that the "Cypriot chronicles have taught me that Albanians existed in Cyprus since the 4th century" (Sathas 1883, LXXIV) and the assertion of Machaira that "the Cypriotic Albanians are mentioned in all chronicles and in the relations of Venetian functionaries" and that "many of the Cypriot saints, whose liturgical offices have reached us, were former Albanians" (Μαχαίρα/Machaira XVI, 1881), show the early religious affiliation and attitude of the Albanians and Epirots towards

Christianity. Nicetas' *Te Deum* of the 5th century, the Codex *Beratinus Φ* from the 6th century and Codex *Beratinus-2* from the 9th century, all belong to creative and preservation periods in the mid-first millennium located in the north and the south of the former Illyrian, later Epirotic and Albanian lands, before the Great Schism (1054) between Western Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Koukouzel, the most important composer of Byzantine music of the 14th century, was born and brought up in Dyrrhachium, now Durrës in Albania from where he moved to Constantinople to develop his career and later entered the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos (see Koukouzel' image, Fig. 03).

There is a surviving fragmentary document from the Archbishop of Durrës, Paulus Angelus (Pal Engjëlli) written in 1462, in which the bishop uses a baptismal formula: "Unte paghesont premenit Atit et birit et spertit senit" (I baptize you in the name of the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit). It is perhaps the first example of written Albanian using the Latin alphabet. Gjon Buzuku's "Missal" (Alb. *Meshari*), dated to 1555 is the first known book printed in Albanian; it is a translation of the Catholic missal using the Northwestern Geg dialect of Albanian in Latin script. Sometime, around the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th and just as Despotate of Epirus (1267–1479) was coming to an end, Mihal Trivoli (his secular name), also known as Maximus the Greek or Maksim Grek, was born in Epirus, in Arta (an Albanian town name). Coming from a noble family in Arta, Trivoli aspired to an educated career and studied ancient languages and ecclesiastic and philosophical work in Paris, Venice, Florence and other cities. He was chosen to translate the Scriptures and philosophical–theological literature into Russian, making possible the dissemination of Byzantine culture throughout Russia. After his death he was venerated as a saint by the Eastern Orthodox Church and now is recognized as the father of later Russian theology.

To say that the above mentioned church activists, bishops or saints were all genuine Albanians, in an ethnic sense, would be to go too far. However, it should be pointed out that they were either born or lived and developed their careers among the Illyrian, Epirotic and Albanian populations, and it would be unrealistic to think that they were not influenced, to a certain degree, by the neighbouring native peoples. It has been argued that:

> Christian settlements along the Albanian coast, in Durrës, Apollonia, Butrint and Vlora, had little contact, if any, with the indigenous population in the mountains. Such settlements were and, up to the Turkish occupation, remained colonies inhabited by Italians, Greeks, Venetians, Dalmatians, Slavs, Jews and Armenians, but, it would seem, by hardly any Albanians.

> The transhumant Albanian herdsmen obviously felt better off in the safety of their mountains (Elsie 2000, 37).

To my mind this description gives an inaccurate picture of the former settlements, which are still the main towns of today's Albania. The impression given, that these settlements "had little contact, if any, with the indigenous population in the mountains" and that their Christian missionary and cultural enterprises developed in total isolation, is misleading to some extent. Further clarification is needed to explain the existence of so many churches, basilicas and monasteries, which were built not only along the Albanian coast, but in the hills, rocks, mountains and other remote areas too, almost everywhere on the Albanian present territories and beyond. It would be logical to assume that they were built during an uninterrupted period of hundreds of years of ecclesiastical life during which the local people had the opportunity to practise their religion. A comparison may help to elucidate the nature of this complex relationship between settlers and the indigenous people. Going back to the time of the Greek colonies on the coast of Epirus, Epidamus and Apollonia, during ancient times and discussing the small number of colonisers Hammond states:

> Apollonia's foundation is known in more detail. The site was already occupied by Illyrians when a group of 200 Corinthians was sent there under the leadership of Gylax … Thucydides (I. 26. 2) describes it as a colony of Corinth, but some Corcyraeans probably participated in the settlement, since it is sometimes called a Corcyraean colony or a joint colony of Corinth and Corcyra. The small number of settlers suggests that it, too, began life as a mixed settlement of Greeks and Illyrians, and this is borne out by the presence of burials under tumuli (Hammond 426, 1967).

There were, of course, "transhumant Albanian herdsmen", as Elsie states, who "felt better off in the safety of their mountains", but there were also chieftains, families of the Albanian feudal lords and rulers of principalities, whose influence on the entire region of the former Southern Illyria, Epirus and Albania, and, to a certain degree, among the Arvanitas of Greece and the Arbëresh of Italy, was substantial. In another passage of his article Mr. Eslie states: "With the arrival of these great religions [Christianity and Islam] came the saints, also imported from abroad. The Albanian tribes were converted over the course of time, though only, it seems, very superficially. Religious fervour was never widespread among them" (Elsie 2000, 37). The populations who resided in the Southwest Balkans—the Illyrians, Epirots and Albanians—embraced the main doctrines of the new

religions whilst also developing their own distinct approaches to worship. This was in contrast to the strictness of the "Italian monks and missionaries who brought with them the cults of the saints traditionally revered by their orders" (Elsie 2000, 37), or that the Byzantine clergy and religious practitioners venerated their Apostles. The Albanians honoured a number of saints by naming them according to their own tongue and region and by adopting those who fitted more neatly into their spiritual patterns. This form of worship represented a liberal approach to their religion with its "own" doctrines and it viewed the world through the eyes of the local, ethnic dogma.

Maria Todorova quotes a fragment from Tsvetan Todorov's writing where he states that "for the Westerner, our traditions … are exciting with their primitiveness, the elemental quality, the backwardness, the exoticism of the wild"; Todorva comments further:

> Unlike Western observers who, in constructing and replicating the Balkanist discourse, were (and are) little aware and even less interested in the thoughts and sensibilities of their objects, the Balkan architects of the different self-images have been involved from the very outset in a complex and creative dynamic relationship with this discourse … This is not something unique to the Balkans. Chakrabarty has shown how non-Western scholars study their own history in conjunction and in reference to the history of the West, whereas Western academia does not reciprocate with the same approach (Todorova 61, 1997).

Notes

[1] Scholes, in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, Tenth edition, p. 1011.

[2] On the Dardanian connection, see A. E. Burn, D. D., *Niceta of Remesiana, His Life and Works* (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1905), XIX, XX, XXII, IVII; Ramadan Sokoli, "Niketë Dardani, muziktar i shekullit IV" (Nicetas Dardáni, the musician of the 4th century), in *16 Shekuj* (Sixteen Centuries; Eurorilindja, Tiranë), 11–48; Morin G. D., *Niceta of Ramesiana* (Unknown, London, 1905).

APPENDIX C

SOME PARALLELS BETWEEN THE OLD ROMAN CHANTING AND BYZANTINE CHANTING

Gregorian chanting is thought to be a derivation of the theories of Old Roman chanting and Byzantine Damascene chanting. It followed the eightfold division, the same categorisation as the *Oktoechos*. Old Roman chanting is the early chanting of the Church of Rome, previous to that which today is called the "Gregorian". One important question arises here: was the ison practised during the 11th and the early 13th centuries when the Old Roman and Gregorian chanting at Rome took shape? Speculations on the supposed use of ison in Old Roman chanting are nowadays becoming more frequent.

At the beginning of the second millennium the influence of the Byzantine Empire on Italy was evident and the Roman church referred to Byzantine chanting for some of their theoretical and performance models. From a theoretical viewpoint there are similarities between the Old Roman chanting (which may be older than the standard Gregorian chanting) and Byzantine chanting such as the modal, cadential, and ornamental formulas.

With regard to performance and the ison in particular, Marcel Pérès, director of the Ensemble Organum, has observed that "the use of an Ison, i.e. the note sustained by the bass in order to underscore the modal transformations, was suggested to us by certain observations. A large number of texts of various periods make mention—unfortunately in rather obscure terms—of a polyphonic tradition in Rome, particularly in the Papal Chapel, said to go back to Pope Vitalius (657–672). What was the nature of this tradition? We do not know" (Pérès 2003, 8–9).[1] In the Offertory (Offertoire), *Terra tremuit*, recorded by Pérès, Audio Example 20, one can sense some kind of parallels of modal and melodic shades between the Roman and Gregorian versions of these chants, as well as distinctive stylistic traits such as extensive melismas, improvisations and modal flexibilities over an uninterrupted holding drone of Byzantine versions of offertories, the idiomela.[2] David Hiley has questioned this interpretation and has said that Pérès "has reversed that theory, believing

that many features of Old Roman chant are Byzantine". He continues: "Pérès takes his ideas one step further by introducing the technique known as *ison* singing, known from much later Byzantine usage, where a drone note is sustained below the chant. This is extremely effective, especially when the drone is performed in double octaves" (Hiley 1987, 119).[3]

During the Ottoman times, "the singers in Constantinople", as Tillyard states, "not only embellished their own hymnody with Oriental ornaments, but also composed music for their masters, the Turks" (Tillyard 1933, 143).[4] From the 17th century onwards, the relationship between modal systems of Neo-Byzantine *echos* and Turkish *makam* gradually turned out to be much closer to each other. The teaching, performing and creating process of Neo-Byzantine chanting, which seems to have been done by ear, clearly absorbed Turkish idioms. The "oriental" features, which were embodied in the corpus of Byzantine chanting since the classical medieval period, through their long co-existence with the Turkish and Persian modal tunes further strengthened the Middle Eastern Ottoman physiognomy. In Italy, on the other hand, and in Grattoferrata in particular, during the second millennium what we see is a reversal of the phrase "Rome conquered Greece but Greece conquered Rome"; it was the Byzantine chanting that, being separated from the Eastern main trunk and acclimatised to the new Western milieu, absorbed some features of Old Roman and Gregorian chanting (the 11th to early 13th century versions). Audio Examples 13 and 14, from Tardo's *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina*, show some models of this acclimatisation and blend.

Notes

[1] CD "Chants de l'Eglise de Rome", Periode Byzantine; Ensemble Organum, Marcel Pérès—Harmonia Mundi, 2003.

[2] Idiomela are the troparia that have a unique melody all their own.

[3] David Hiley, "Old-Roman Chant, 7th–8th Centuries, Byzantine period", in *Early Music Journal*, XV(1):119–120; doi:10.1093/earlyj/XV.1.119, Oxford University Press, 1987.

[4] H. J. W. Tillyard, "Byzantine Music at the End of the Middle Ages", Laudate: Quarterly Review of the Benedictines of Nashdom 43, 1933, 141–51.

GLOSSARY

apechema	intonation formula of Byzantine music; a short musical phrase preceding the chant and serving as an introduction to the scale the chant belongs to.
arbëresh	or Italo-Albanians, are the Albanian-speaking population in parts of southern Italy and Sicily, the descendants of the 15th century refugees from the Balkans. Maintaining their native culture and language, they now populate about 50 villages in Southern Italy.
aromanian/vlachs	were originally mixtures of different indigenous tribes, who spoke a Romanian or Romance language and during Roman times were dwelling in south Illyria and lived in symbiosis with the autochthonous Albanian-speakers populace. Then, gradually they were fragmented and dispersed all over the Balkans. Being transhumant shepherds, they expanded over a vast area south of the lower Danube during the Slavic invasions.
arvanitis	ArbanithV, the name given to Albanians living in Greece.
avaz himariot	manner of singing with the addition of a kind of tremolo idiomatic shade effect in the third voice.
Bregu i Detit	Some of the people in the Himarë region prefer to be recognised as belonging to the *Bregu i Detit* (Coastline) region. This is because in the 15th and 16th centuries, Himarë incorporated the coastline up to Butrint as well as the present day Labëri.
chironomy	(from Greek *cheironomia*/*heironomia*, a compound of the classical Greek words for "hand" *(cheir)* and "name") is the transcription of a series of *gestures* of the hand and/or fingers, each gesture representing a musical value.
chromatic	in the Greek context is a term which denotes and contains the interval of the augmented second in the framework of the tetrachord (the fourth), but also may refer to augmented second of the "HÍCAZ-type".
cula-diare	*cula-dyjare*, *cyla-diare* or *bicula*, (all variants of the names identify a kind of double-flute instrument) are mainly found in the regions of Southwest Albania.
çam (*cham*)	the smallest ethnic group of the three subdivisions in southern Albania (*Çamëria*), living on the coast of the Ionian and Adriatic seas. In 1944 they had to leave West Epirus and were settled between Saranda and Durrës.

çamçe	an energetic Albanian dance in a *rubato* manner and 7/8 or 7/4 metre whereby a prominent role is taken by the leader of the dancing, accompanied by one or sometimes two other soloist dancers.
djemurishte (style)	"young men's" style of IMUS.
echos	(*ἦχος* in Greek) is the starting note (tone), the scheme or subsequent intervals of a melody.
fustanella	a pleated kilt or dress, is used with the identical meanings by the Albanians and Greeks as their traditional national costume.
fyell/*fyej* (folk flute)	the most diversely shaped and named wind instruments; it is found all over Albanian territories including the Diaspora (in Italy).
geg or *geg-s*	the northern ethnic group of Albania (*Gegëria*).
grarishte (style)	"women's" style of IMUS.
hedhës (*thrower*)	is among the Tosks the voice or soloist who starts the song.
iso	the voice which provides the drone in a multipart unaccompanied singing.
ison/*isokratima*	a holding-note; the name comes from the Greek (ισον) and is the voice that provides the drone in a Byzantine chant (Eastern Christian Chant).
kaba (e qarë)	a *mourning* tune; it consists of two sections: the first is slow, melancholic and in a free-moving style, whereas the second, in a fixed tempo style (tempo *giusto*), is usually *moderato*.
kalophonic	highly embellished or "beautified" Byzantine style.
klefte/*klephts*	(*klepht*, *cleftique*, *kleftique*, *klephtiko*), in Greek κλεφτες means thief. The men who fought for the Greek independence against the Turks. Lord Broughton associates the term *kleftes* (robbers) with the exploits of the Albanian banditti rebelling against the Pashas of the Porte.
kthyes (*answerer*)	among Labs is the second voice, "the one who answers"; in Greek this is *giristis* (γυριστής) or *klostis* (κλώστης) and in Vlach *atselu tsi u tali*.
lab/Labëri	one of the main ethnic groups in southwest Albania.
llauta (Gr. *laouto*)	like a short lute; one of the most important instruments of the *saze* ensembles, along with the clarinet and violin. It is played with a quill plectrum.
makam (*mekam*)	a modal system as "a set of compositional rules by which the melodic component of a piece of music is realised" (Signell).
marrës (*taker*)	the voice or soloist who "takes", starts, the song. In Greek this is called partis (*πάρτης*) and in Vlach *atselu tsi u lia* or *lia canticle*.
melurgic	a sacred musical or poetical composition of Medieval Byzantine Church tradition for use in the praise or worship of God.

mirologia is the Greek version of the Albanian *kaba*; these two styles (mirogogia and kaba) share many common expressive devices and regional patterns including improvisation, descending slides and pentatonic developments; they are confined not only to funerals but played also at dances, weddings and other festivities.

myzeqar/*Myzeqe* a smaller ethnic group (subdivision) in south-central Albania.

neume or neum from the Greek word *neuma*, meaning "nod" or "sign", is a sign used in the notation of Byzantine chant during the Middle Ages, surviving today in the same chants.

Oktoechos (in Greek Ὀκτώηχος); The Byzantine psalmody and hymnody are based upon an eight-tone system, referred to as the Oktoechos, eight *echoi*.

pleqërishte (style) "old men's" style of IMUS.

prerës whose voice "cuts it", or *pritës*, "waits for it", is called the second soloist (second part) among the Tosks, who occupies the lower register (see also *kthyes*).

Pyrrhic dance most authors consider the Pyrrhic as a military dance, and many ascribe its origin to Pyrrhus the son of Achilles.

rinofonia is an alteration of the voice characterized by nasalization of sounds.

saze this term *saze* has a double significance: it refers to a general term to a type of musical instrument, but it is also used as a collective name, i.e. for a group of instrumentalists.
Although this double use of the term *saze* has the same significance as in Turkey, in Albania the notion *saze* implies the southeastern traditional ensembles.

tosk/*Toskëri* in a narrow sense, the southeast ethnic group of Albania; in a wider sense, the whole land (*Toskëria*) inhabited by Albanians south of the river Shkumbin.

tsamikos and *klephtic* songs, practised widely in the Epirotic area, are performed in a free metre and decorative melodic style with instrumental interludes between verses. The first and slower section of the *tsamiko* is narrative and the refrain usually livelier in a dance-rhythm. The *tsamiko*/*chamiko* is also performed as a slow dance.

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NOTATED EXAMPLES

Tregon Gego Valideja
Gego Valideja's Narration

Example 1

IKP Archive, Tape No. 728/11

Adapted from a mixed group interpretatio
Dukat, Vlorë, 1970

Poco rubato ♩ = 66
Tre-gon Ge-go Va- li - de-ja për ko - hën e shku - a - rë, tre - gon
Tre - gon
Tre - gon
Tre-gon
Ge - go Va - li - de - ja për ko - hën e shku - a - rë
Ge - go Va - li - de - ja për ko - hën shku- a - rë e ho
Ge - go Va li - de - ja për ko - hën e shku - a - rë
Ge - go Va li - de - ja për ko - hën e shku - a - rë

Chorus sings in a rhythmic iso fashion by using the text

Nëntëmbëdhjetë janari
The Nineteenth of January

Example 2

IKP Archive, Tape 549/3
Collected and transcribed by Beniamin Kruta, 1968

Kuç, Vlorë
Sung by the Men's Group

Allegretto ♪ = 138
Nën - të - mbë - dhje - të ja - na - ri
rit
o
va - te di - pllo - ma - ti, va - te - o
va - te di - pllo ma ti va - te - o ho ho
va te di - pllo - ma - ti va - te - o
va - te di - pllo - ma - ti, va - te - o
nën - të - mbë - dhje - të ja na - ri - o
nën - të e mbë - dhje - të ja na - ri o
nën - të mbë - dhje - të ja na - ri -
nën - të - mbë - dhje - të ja - na - ri

Këmb'o këmbë pse m'u pretë
Why My Feet Got so Weak **Example 3**

IKP Archive, Tape 355/9
Collected by M. Daiu, E. Dheri & A. Mustaqi; notated by M. Daiu

Adapted from a Gjirokastër group interpretation
Xh. Avdalli (taker/marrës), N. Çarçani (answerer/kthyes), I. Kadriu (thrower/hedhës), I. Asqeriu & the group/me shokë-is

Allegretto ♪ = 140
Këmbo këm- bë pse m'u pre- të u së jë mu- jun t a moj de i
të o m'u ë së jo ho mu- ju - ër të moj de je - e
ë moj i de je
shtë moj i ve je ë këmb o i këmb'o kë - jë -
shtë o ho ve - je - et o ho këmb moj i këmb o_ ho kë - jë këm-
shtë moj i ve - je - të këmb moj këmb o - ho kë - jë këm
mbë moj je pse je je m'u ju pret ë u moj i
bë jo ho pse je je m'u ju hu pre - je - et o ho ho moj i
mbë moj pse je ve je pre - je të moj i
u - së_ mu - jur a moj de i - shtë moj i ve_ të
u sëhë mu - ju - ër të jo ho de je e shtë ho ho ve_ o ho - të
të po_ de - je shtë moj ve_ të

Ku je rritur, je bër' kaqe
Where have you grown up so much

Based on "The Albanian Musical Folklor"
by Ramadan Sokoli, 1965

Example 4

Allegro moderato
Ku je rri - tur je bër' ka - qe xhan xhan moj ma - nu - sha - qe
Kur je rri - tur je bër ka - qe xha xhan moj ma - nu sha - qe
Ku je rri - tur je bër' ka - qe xhan xhan moj ma - nu - sha - qe
Ku je rri - tur je bër' ka - qe xhan xhan moj ma - nu - sha - qe
Ku je rri - tu je bër'ka - qe xhan xha moj ma - nu sha - qe
Ku je rri - tur je bër ka - qe xhan xhan moj ma - nu - sha - qe

Pses ehorevan edhó
Last Night They Danced Here

Example 5

Based on Kosta Loli's book "Epirotic Polyphonic Song"
Ioannina, 2006, Example 69, page 201

Performed and recorded in Poliçan, 1995

♩ = 96
Pses e - ho - re - van e - dho mo - re Çe lo pses e -
O ho mo - re Çe - lo pses e
mo - re Çe - lo pses e
mo - re Çe - lo pses e -
ho - re - van e - dho mi - rim Zo - ti
ho re o - van e - dho o mi - rim Zo - ti
ho - re - van e - dho mi - rim Zo - ti
ho - re - van e - dho mi - rim Zo - ti

Do këndoj po m'u zu grika
I'll Sing, But My Throat Won't Let Me

Example 6

IKP Archive, Tape 305/1
Based on "Questions of the Albanian Foklore", No. 5, 1997

Himarë, recorded 1963, Male Group

Andantino
Do kën - doj po m'u zu gri - ka mo - ji
e
moj he he
në - jo
moj
në - për - ka pi
në he he për - i - he ka he he pi he he i
në - jo pë - rë - ka pi -
në - për - ka pi
he he he e
Do kën -
do he he kën - he he
Do jo kën -
Do kën -
doj m'u zu gri
doj he he po he he m'u zu he he gri i he he
do - jë po m'u ju zy ju gri -
doj po m'u zu gri
i he he he e
moj
moj he he
moj o
moj

Vajz' e bukur-o
Beautiful Girl

Example 7

Sung by K. Çakalli (marrës), N. Muko (kthyes),
M. Rumbo (iso), recorded in Paris, Pathé, 1929

Transcribed by E. Koço

Andante ♩. = 52
Vajz'e bu-kur- o padel të të josh
o o padel të të josh o o
padel të të e
moj Ka- ti- na ni-na ni- na vajz' e da-shur- o Di - lë
moj Ka- tin-na ni-na ni-na ni-na vajz'e da o a Di-lë
e
në pen- xher' qe-shë ndo-një her'
në pen- xher' o a qe-shë ndo-një her' o a
e
moj Ka - ti-na ni-na ni-na zë-më - rën ma merr
moj Ka - ti-na ni-na ni-na zë-më - rën ma merr

Pse m'i mban sytë në mbërdhe
Why You Keep Your Eyes Down

Example 8

IKP Archive, Tape No. 500/11
Collected and transcribed by Beniamin Kruta, 1966

Çorovodë, Skrapar
Sung by the Women's Group

Allegro ♩ = 104
O ti - në pse mi mba jo moj mban syt
m'i mba- në dhe moj syt
ë e
në mbër - dhe i je dhe pse
në mbë- jër dhe pse
e
m'i mban jo moj- mban syt në mbër - dhe
m'i mba- në dhe moj syt në mbë- jër dhe
e

Shoqe, do t'u them një fjalë
My Girl Mates, I'll Tell You a Word

Example 9

IKP Archive, Tape No. 637/10
Based on "The Musical Folklore"
by Vasil Tole, Uegen, 2007

The Women Group: T. Hime- ia thotë (says), S. Topi- ia mban (holds), D. Hajdini me shoqe (with girlfriends)- iso
Lubonjë, Korçë

Tempo giusto ♩. = 76
Sho- qe, do t'u them një fja - lë dhe jo sho - qe, sho- qe
do t'u them një fja- lë dhe jo sho si ish Lu- bo -
do t'u them një fja- lë dhe moj sho - qe
e
nja më pa- rë dhe jo sho si ish Lu- bo - nja më
-nja më pa- rë dhe jo sho - qe Lu- bo nja më
e
pa - rë dhe jo sho
pa - rë dhe jo sho - qe a
e

Kush të nisi, të bëri pyll
Who Made You Blossom

Example 10

IKP Archive, Tape 594/4
Collected and transcribed
by Beniamin Kruta, 1973

Shënepremte, Gramsh, rec. 1968
Sung by the Women's Group

Larghetto cantabile ♩. = 58
Kush të ni - si të të bë - ri pyll moj e bu - ku -
ri pyll moj e bu - ku
e
ro si kush të ni - si të të bë - ri
ra si yll ni - si të bë - ri
pyll moj e bu - ku - ro si yll
pyll moj e bu - ku - ro si yll

Më ra shamia në llucë
My Handkerchief Fell in Mud

Example 11

IKP Archive, Tape No. 966/9 Përmet, 1973, sung by the Women's Group

Parlando rubato
Tempo giusto Vivace ♩ = 176
Më ra sha- mi- ja- në- llu- u cë
e
ta marr u-në ta laj u-në
e
ta thaj u -në ta lidhun' trë-nda-fi-li bor- zi -lok shko për-pa-ra se s'vij dot se jamplak e
e e e e e e e
vij me shkop trën- da - fi'e e -il mo e
e e e e e e
accelerando poco a poco

O qo an'e lumit
This Side of the River

Example12

Based on "The Musical Folklor"
by Vasil Tole, Uegen, 2007

Fier, Myzeqe
Group not known

Allegretto

Ja qo ja - në lu mit bre ja re ja qo ja e
ja -në lu - mit ja re ja qo ja e re
e
a haj - de ja qo ja ne lu mit o
i lu- mi -të ja - në lu - mit
e
e
ka re ka bil bi la e
ka bil - bi - la la i - la shu - më o
e

Ra dielli në malë
The Sun is Rising on the Mountain

Transcribed by D. & E. Stockmann
from "Die Vokale Bordun-Mehrstimmigkeit
in Südalbanien", 1960, by Doris & Erich Stockmann

Example 13

♪ = 368
Ra di - e -lli në ma - lë Vi - ge Çe - lu - a hi - si në
♩ = 92
♩ = 92
♪ = 352
(j)a- ri - lë
♪ = 264
o moj në_ në_(j) a_ ri_ jë - lë
♪ = 264
Çe - lu - a hi - si në (j)a_ ri_ lë_ ♪ = 252 për të shkre_ të paj_
go - ri - në_
♪ = 252 ♪ = 368

Alismonó ke hjeromé
I Forget but Enjoy

Example 14

Transcribed by Kosta Loli, based on K. Loli's book
"Epirotic Polyphonic Song", 2006

Perform. & regist. in Ktismata, 1995

Recitativo ♪ = 160
♩ = 100
Oh, a - li-smo-no ke hje- ro-me,thi -mju-me ke-li- pu-me
A - li -
a- ho- ho
A li
A - li -
A - li -
smo - jo no ke hje - ro - jo me
smo jo no o o e-he ke hje ro jo me e e-hje,
smo - jo no ke hje - ro jo me e
smo - jo ke hje - ro - me
Thi - mju me - je ke li - pu me
Thi mju me je ke e e li - pu u me
Thi - mju me je ke e e li pu u me
Thi - mju me ke li - pu u - me

Kostandini i vogëlith
The Little Kostandin

Example 15

Collected by D. Carpitella & F. de Martino
Copié du disque Columbia KL 5175

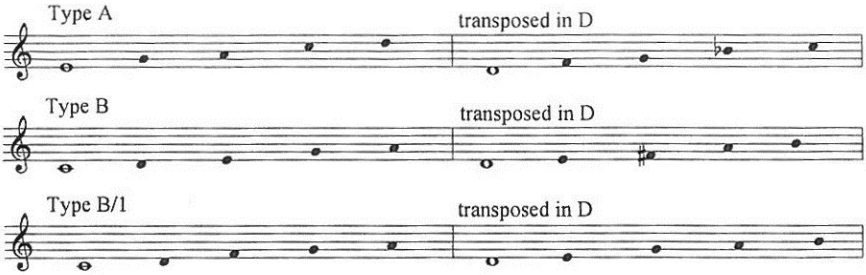
Transcribed by B. Kruta, 1972
Pallagoria, Calabria, 1952
Sung by Maria Mazza & four women

Allegro poco rubato ♩ = 146

Loj loj va - sha va - le loj loj va - sha
loj va - sha va - le loj loj va - sha
va - loj loj va - sha va
va - loj loj va - sha va
Kos- ta - ndin
vogë - lith Kos- ta - ndin vog - li - thë, Ko - sta -
lith Ko - sta - ndin vogë - li - thë, Ko - sta -
ndin vogë - lith Ko - sta - ndin vogë - lith
ndin vogë - lith Ko - sta - ndin vogë - lith

PENTATONIC MODES
The Most Commonly Used Pentatonic Modes in South Albanian Music

Example 16/A



Example 16/B

Sugarman: Pentatonic scales on which the Prespa songs are base
"Engendering Song", p. 66

The ancient lyra *accordatura*

Example 16/C

The *Nenano* Apechema

Example 17

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